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# THE SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY



Vol. XXIX

DECEMBER, 1948

No. 3

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# The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly

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Vol. XXIX

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## Experiment in Southern Education

ROBERT L. MORRIS

*University of Arkansas*

The rise and fall of Commonwealth College in Arkansas is a story of the depression 1930's. Situated ten miles west of Mena in the hills of Polk county, the "resident labor" school experienced a series of fortunes and misfortunes that were singularly associated with the national strife in the decade that preceded World War II. In the seventeen years of its existence the college was never long out of the national news, and remained a constant source of wonder and irritation to the citizens of Arkansas and Oklahoma. By virtue of its isolated location and its ambitious program of social reform it was bound to attract the attention of all victims of the economic frustration of the time. Highlighted by a certain amount of sensationalism, it was a garish spot on the national picture of florid colors and broken lines.

To say that Commonwealth College in its development and attitudes was typical of the time is to neglect its part in the larger history of American education. Its founders, although impelled directly by a kind of foresight of the economic ills that were soon to threaten the country, and consequently restricted to devising economic and social cure-alls, were nevertheless aligning themselves with the educational idealisms that have motivated pedagogues whenever American education strikes out in new directions. Radical and unorthodox as their teaching and educational organization was, they were but exercising a right which was exercised by Emerson, Alcott, the Brook Farmers, the New Harmony Group, the Fourierists, the recent "experimental" colleges, and all other "new departures" in American education. The desire to break with convention in the educational "system" has always been a part of the American heritage, and these Utopians setting up their school in the wilderness, conceived of themselves as modern pioneers laboring on the frontiers of a new era.

The idea for the school arose, in 1923, when a group of obscure Utopians from Llano, Louisiana, and Ink, Arkansas, migrated to the hilly fastness of Polk county and purchased some eighty acres of land at a cost of eight hundred dollars. The first bequest to the college was recalled to have been thirty-five cents, and like Thoreau at Walden the founders lived a spare existence close to nature. By May of 1925 the school was

ready to open its doors, though there is some uncertainty as to just how many doors there were to open.

As early as 1926 the educational experiment was forced to defend its teachings "against the criticism of Arkansas veterans," and according to a news story of that time there was no "sign of reds" in the school.<sup>1</sup> Officials of the school vigorously denied that it received support from any political, economic, or religious organization, and specifically disclaimed all connection with "the I. W. W., the Soviet government, or Communist party." It was asserted, however, that the teachers were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and also with the Arkansas State Federation of Labor. In the middle 1920's an economical education for earnest students was stressed in the school's promotional literature, also the value of the individual student's efforts in the college program: "We do not follow the plan of other universities which suppress the student's individuality." Three years later it was declared in the columns of the college weekly<sup>2</sup> that it was "necessary for every person or group that starts something new to experience the suspicion of the conservatives, the abuse of the ignorant, and the slander of the malicious . . . almost all pioneers, it seems, have had to suffer for the privilege of presenting a new idea to the world." In the same year the college paper reported a \$10,000 damage suit against the college had been thrown out of court for the second time on the grounds of insufficient evidence. That the young college enjoyed the blessings of persons of importance was clear when the college paper reported pledges to the institution amounting to \$740,000, including among the donors the names of Mrs. L. D. Brandeis, Dean Roscoe Pound and E. Haldeman Julius. The 1929 issues of the paper carried a vigorous campaign under the heading "Toward a Labor Party." National attention was focused on the college through an article in the *New Republic* magazine which asserted that Commonwealth College, then in its seventh year, fostered a radical type of education. (This was in refutation to a statement by V. F. Calverton, that no higher institution in America fostered radical education.) The writer went on to say that Commonwealth had a clean record as an "Independent self-governing resident labor college;" it was owned and operated by the teachers and third and fourth year students, and stressed complete freedom in teaching.

<sup>1</sup>*Arkansas Democrat*, September 12, 1926. The information for this essay came largely from newspaper sources. Newspapers consulted were *The Arkansas Democrat*, *Arkansas Gazette*, *Fort Smith Southwest American*, and *Memphis Commercial Appeal*. This casual survey of the stormy career of Commonwealth College can only hit the highlights of the picture; the complete history of the college remains to be written.

<sup>2</sup>The college paper, known as the *Commonwealth College Fortnightly*, continued until May 15, 1938, when it was superseded by *The Commoner*, which continued until July, 1940.



Enjoying a brief period of prosperity in the palmy 1920's, the college was accepted as a kind of "freak show" in a decade notorious for freak shows. The place was advertised in a radio talk as "the strangest college in America," and it flaunted a kind of bohemianism which was not uncharacteristic of the time. Its frequent blasts at the Coolidge brand of prosperity were commonly greeted with laughter, and the economic long-hairishness of its students and teachers was viewed with derision.

However, in educational circles, the college was not regarded as an academic brain-storm. A statement in a 1929 *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors* seems to have established the reputation of the college in the academic world. The following excerpt from the *Bulletin* is one of the most vigorous statements of Commonwealth's educational idealism.

Commonwealth is significant as an institution of higher learning because it has demonstrated that most of the "problems" which distress other colleges and universities are eliminated when education is made the only aim. Commonwealth conducts no endowment drives, therefore it is under no obligation to millionaires; it holds no land grants, therefore it has no military training; it asks for no appropriation, therefore it holds no compulsory chapel to please the country parsons; it is content to operate with half a hundred students, therefore it need not offer degrees or certificates, sponsor athletics, or encourage Greek letter organizations.

The teachers receive no salaries, therefore they are not hoping for increases or fearing reductions. They are not required to frighten adolescents into cultural pursuits nor keep them from wickedness and idleness; therefore they keep no attendance records, nor do they conduct final examinations. They are not inquisitors, disciplinarians, wardens, clerks, nor "models for the young," therefore they have opportunity to be teachers.

Students are not sentenced by parents to serve four years in the college, therefore they are free to leave whenever they feel that they are not learning something worth knowing. They are not given four years of idleness in which to complete their pre-marital experimentations; they pay for their schooling by four hours of work daily, therefore they are the sole judges of the values of what they are getting. They are not working for a letter or a sweater, two letters on a diploma, or three letters on a fraternity pin, therefore they have time to learn.

In spite of this rigorous program, the college was in a position to boast that it was attracting students from the Universities of Chicago and Minnesota, who were quoted as saying, "I wanted a free atmosphere for physical and mental expression," and "I was frankly bored with the students and faculty of the conventional college. They are hidebound." In those years the celebration of May day, always an important annual observance at the labor school, was carried on with much fanfare, on one occasion a speaker going to great length to stress "social equality." Another topic that seemed to receive unlimited attention was the low standard of Southern living. Political and economic feudalism was frequently deplored, and one writer in an article entitled "Southern Statesmanship,"

quoted from the Baltimore *Sun*: "The outlook at present is that the South will continue to supply the mountebank element in the United States Senate." An editorial appeared under the title "The American Negro Must Be Organized," and labor tactics in the Kentucky mountains were noted and described at length. Diversification of Southern agriculture was a topic of sporadic interest, and more labor on the land was consistently advocated. After an early summer drought a writer rejoiced that "our Arkansas desert is blooming again." Toward the close of the decade writers in the school paper took cognizance of the darkening national scene and began to bring it to the attention of Commonwealth readers. The 1931 New Orleans dock workers strike was magnified and defended, as was the earlier great Paterson mill strike.

At this time the leaders of the college were prepared to give out to the world a statement of principles as a standing rebuke to all those who continued to attack it. The statement was frequently reprinted on the editorial page of the school paper.

#### What Is Commonwealth College

Commonwealth was organized in 1923 to promote education for workers on a self-supporting basis.

Commonwealth seeks to develop in young men and women of the working class the capacity to serve the labor movements.

Commonwealth is located in the heart of the Ouachitas, the southernmost range of the Ozarks, where it operates agricultural and basic industries by means of four hours labor daily from its students and teachers.

Both students and teachers earn by part time work. It is the only college in the world owned and operated by teachers and students. It is nonsectarian and non-propaganda in instruction. It sponsors no particular religion, political or economic dogma. It holds that scientific experimentation carries the only hope of adjustment or solution of personal and social problems.

The course of study was also advertised as follows: First year—effective writing, economic history and resources, social origins and problems, American history, public speaking, typewriting, stenography, unified mathematics, French, German, or Spanish; Second year—labor journalism; elementary economics and problems; psychology; world history; modern imperialism; labor law; labor history; argumentation and debate; statistics and research; third year—advanced writing; economic thought; money and banking; social psychology; current international problems; advanced labor law; labor problems and tactics; Marxian theory; social philosophies. It is doubtful that these courses, which were announced in 1931, were ever consistently carried out, as the school was noted for fluctuations both in its course offerings and in the demands of its student body. However it is known that a semblance of these courses was available at all times during the existence of the institution.

Prospering while the rest of the country languished in the throes of economic catastrophe, the labor students fared forth into the field, and

sought to check their theories by the hard facts of reality. In April, 1932, they sent a mission to the Harlan county, Kentucky, coal fields to bring relief to the distressed strikers. Not long after their arrival the leader of the group, one Lucien Koch, who six months before had been appointed director of the school, sent back a spirited account of the ill-treatment he and his fellow missionaries had received at the hands of a gang of ruffians. According to Koch's report he and his friends had been ambushed, and their "hair and noses pulled." Newspaper notices of the missionary mission from Commonwealth were numerous, and the composite story of the whole affair ran to this effect: that five of the Mena party had been ejected from the Kentucky coal fields, and were waiting advices of the American Civil Liberties Union as to their next procedure. Eventually they were taken into protective custody in Knoxville, and after spending a time there in jail, signified their intention of returning home. The following day, however, with welts on their backs, they determined to return to the mine area, and sent telegrams to Senators Barkley and Robinson of Kentucky and Arkansas, imploring them to do all in their power to rectify the coal field situation. A hotel clerk is reported to have said of this latest sally: "I think they were just going for a pleasure trip more than anything else." Eventually the students drifted back to the college, and the whole incident faded from the press. That this episode in an early year of the great depression fixed national attention on the college in Arkansas is without question, but it appears to have been rather an expression of all-assorted enthusiasms than a concerted effort along the party line.

Returning to intramural affairs, the first rift in the college appears to have occurred late in 1932 when two-thirds of the students went on strike, protesting the expulsion of two student leaders. Surprisingly the strike was conducted in an orderly manner, the students merely refusing to work and attend classes. In commenting on this disturbance, a writer for the daily press charged that the "so-called labor school was using capitalistic law in order to expell radical students. This was done under the guise of the sanctity of private property, a hypocrisy that they themselves taught was merely a ruse to keep the ruling class in power." The secretary of the college association declared the students were found guilty of anti-social conduct by a student discipline committee, which then reversed itself and protested the suspension. Toward the end of the year the strikers had virtual control of the then deserted college, and the fracas was aired in the correspondence column of the *Nation* magazine early in 1933 when a student described feeling as running high against the seventeen students who refused to answer strike call. Director Koch replied in the *Nation* to the student's charges, declaring that "the basic issue of the strike, now a thing of the past following withdrawal of those who struck, was not student representation but an attempt to force the school to abandon its non-factional position and adopt the position of the communist party."

Following this upheaval the college entered another period of comparative tranquility, reasserting its stand as the most economical school in the country, proclaiming the dignity of labor, and ministering to the ills of the South. The welcome hand was extended to students "dismissed for radicalism or for voicing their opinions in print." On the labor campus they could find haven "where radical opinion is taken for granted." It was often asserted that Commonwealth would take in such student leaders as fast as other colleges sent them out.

At this time the college was the subject of a long "feature story" in the Arkansas *Democrat* which asserted that the experiment based on an ideal was a success. It was described as a school where truth is taught, "and truth is the great need of the country." The note of honest poverty was struck in recalling the years of hard work and sacrificial spirit of the school's first leaders. It was recalled that they "were building as our forefathers did years ago in many sections of the country—from the ground up. In almost every sense we are situated in a pioneer country and are living under pioneer conditions. As we look over the landscape there is little to differentiate the view that our forefathers saw sixty years ago. Our streets are woodland paths; our location is dominated by pine and hardwood. In our daily lives we live much as the pioneers lived; our clothes are suitable for outdoor wear; our food the simple fare of working people . . . Commonwealth has no ax to grind. It is experimental and, in a laboratory way, is trying to work out a better system of economic and social relationship." (This Rousseauistic note of back-to-nature and the simple life was doubtless an appealing call in the middle 1930's.) Readers were treated to the additional information that the school operated on a basis of "centralized democracy," and throughout the long article the public was afforded a favorable view of the history, personnel and operation of the college. The picturesque side of college life was stressed by the fact that many of the students could speak no English upon arrival at the college, and any creed or economic proposition that had any bearing on life was given consideration. Among the many disappointments to the conventional-minded student was the announcement that such things as graduation days and diplomas were unknown. Students came, stayed as long as they pleased, paid a small fee and did a few hours of labor five days a week. The college then was said to have enrolled fifty students who were taught by nine instructors, and it was concluded that "youth and labor" now rule in the ninth year.

At this time of comparative success and security certain writers for the college paper seemed to unfurl the "red banner" with impunity. In a series of six articles under the title, "With Malice Aforethought," a writer charged out in all directions against the evils of capitalism. Roosevelt came in for a sort of capitalistic punishment as follows: "Stalin says Roosevelt is a brave leader. What? Stalin—our own great comrade Stalin—shades of Marx and Lenin! Why bravery is a virtue and a virtue—any



virtue worth mentioning—is something which no capitalistic-class politician can legitimately possess; and Roosevelt is a capitalistic-class politician. Ergo.” Explosive expressions like the following continued throughout this series of economic dialectics: “It’s a crooked and corrupt world we live in—this world of senile and malodorous capitalism.” Notwithstanding the ill-chosen topic of the series of essays, its author’s vigorous, Menckenesque thrusts and parries provide the most distinctive and characteristic writing in the history of the school publication. In general the writing was didactic and arid, and was overburdened with the stern social consciousness of the time.

One of the most serious questions, even in prosperity, continued to be the old one: Could Commonwealth carry on the crusade? Consequently appeals for donations from benefactors to mankind remained frequent and insistent. Names of all capital donors, big and little, were printed in the paper, and vast amounts of news print were devoted to this form of vanity. The time then appeared favorable for more ambitious undertakings, and the year 1934 was distinguished for the founding of a journal of opinion entitled *The Windsor Quarterly*, which recognized artistic literary aspiration; however, the publication experienced an early demise. This year was also notable for the opening of a “workers’ museum,” which was sometimes referred to as the “museum of social change.” Among the articles of display were some lingerie said to have once been the property of a fancy lady in Kansas City, and a rope with a hangman’s noose which was reputed to have been intended for the lynching of Lucien Koch.

The year 1935 may be properly called the banner year of the college, for its reputation was never greater, its influence never more powerful. The history of the school at that time hinges on an affair of mob violence in Poinsett county, Arkansas, that was obviously instigated by students and teachers from the college. This was promptly followed by an investigation of the institution conducted by a committee from the state legislature, which eventually resulted in the termination of Commonwealth as an “educational” institution of any kind.

Early in February Lucien Koch and one of his cohorts traveled across the state to Poinsett county to organize the sharecroppers of that area into the Southern Tenant Farmers’ Union. As a result of this speech-making campaign Koch’s colleague was charged with being communistic in nature, and his proposals described as “those of the communist party which has headquarters in Russia.” Arrests followed clashes between East Arkansas officers and organizers of the union. At one of the rallies of the union the then governor of Arkansas read a telegram from the New York district of International Labor Defense demanding restitution of civil liberties, and concluding, “We demand that all terror against the farmers be stopped.” Despite efforts to settle the affray by peaceful

means, the leaders from Commonwealth were apprehended and forced to spend some time in the local bastilles.

In the issue of the college paper for February 5, appeared a letter written by Lucien Koch while he was incarcerated in Lepanto jail. The missive was composed on scraps of paper torn from sacks, and is a masterpiece in the imposing corpus of jailhouse literature. Direct, vile, profane, the letter depicts the writer as a victim of malicious forces bent on frustrating the ways of justice, and vividly illustrates the point. In the *New Republic* for March 27, 1935, Koch appeared with a four-column article under the title of "War in Arkansas," which described the economic status of the share-cropper and the foundation of the STFU under socialist leadership. It also included Koch's melodramatic account of being dragged from a union meeting and beaten up. Before he ended the article he predicted open violence and loss of life. He declared the situation to be the most intense in the country "and at the same time one of social significance."

Meanwhile it had been announced that the Arkansas Legislature had ordered a "Mena College Probe," the action having resulted from a resolution terming Commonwealth a sponsor of "communism and un-American teachings." The action had been aggravated by Koch's unseemly behavior at more than one place in the state. Before his misfortune at Lepanto jail he had been detained in Fort Smith in connection with agitation for a general strike on relief projects in western Arkansas. In reply to the proposed investigation, Koch, then back at the college, said he would welcome it and stood ready to assist the investigators in any way. Through the latter part of February and all of March the investigation occupied the attention of the press. On February 16 the Fort Smith *Southwest American* reported that five members of the Arkansas Legislature who were investigating the college took a mild "joshing" from the school heads in their quest for "Communist activities." Koch said in reply to the legislators' charge of "rumors", that there had been "rumors about the Legislature," and invited the investigators to lunch with him, but the invitation was declined. Later the visitors attended a class in labor problems which was taught by Koch who wore a red sweater, leather jerkin and puttees. It was noted that his teaching was infused with an air of camaraderie, and his quizzing was the essence of informality. The investigators also visited the "museum of social change" which had been instituted "to record the fall of capitalism"; but whether the investigators were impressed by this exhibit is not reported. They also conducted a detailed investigation of the school library in an effort to find incendiary literature, in accordance with the passage of an emergency measure declaring the possession of seditious literature a felony instead of a misdemeanor. As the investigation continued Koch's assertion was printed: "If Commonwealth goes under, that will be a signal for an attack on other labor organizations, and on periodicals and organizations represent-

ing the working class." He further declared that Commonwealth trained young men and women for active service "in some militant organization in the labor movement." It was reported that Koch's defense of his school took up six hours, and was not without certain passages of strong and expressive language. Koch as the self-dramatized center of the scene appears to have been lecturing a group of unimpressible tourist sight-seers. One investigator said that during his stay at the college he read a lot about Soviet Russia, but found that the Mena townspeople had no serious objection to the school. Of the local agitation one temperate investigator, coming to a mild defense of the school, believed it was "impossible to suppress the thoughts of pupils and faculty of Commonwealth college and similar institutions suspected of teaching and harboring evil and dangerous doctrines and thoughts." As the controversy continued Koch advised the Governor of reports of threatened violence, and telegrams were sent to the chairman of the senate committee to which the anti-sedition bill was referred as follows: "In the interest of free speech and academic freedom we urge defeat of Gooch house bill 211 and also that there be no interference with Commonwealth College, a venture in experimental education that has been watched with keen interest by progressive educators and liberals." Thus ran one message in the case, which was signed by leaders in religion and education of national renown. Another telegram from the National Religion and Labor Foundation viewed with alarm: "Reports members of Commonwealth college subpoenaed and humiliated by closed hearings. Also that Gooch sedition bill has passed House. Such action and such law against fundamental principle of American liberties that all social and political groups have freedom of self-expression, we deplore as base denial of civil liberties. We oppose sedition bill." On the other side of the struggle a flood of papers was spread among all interested parties giving a synopsis of communist and radical activities of individuals, groups, and institutions, including Commonwealth College, the American Civil Liberties Union, and Union Theological Seminary.

In its March 1 issue the college paper reported with much lamentation that the Arkansas House of Representatives had passed a bill to outlaw Commonwealth and deny civil liberties in the state. One month later the paper reported, "Legislature kills suppressive bills—protested by entire nation." Two weeks later Commonwealth was inviting the world to attend its summer session, and in September, a new director was named to succeed Koch.

Behind the legislature's lengthy investigation of the school and final decision not to close it lay the long shadow of economic unrest, social discontent, and national calamity. The whole country then torn by hunger marches, strikes, factions, and violence, laid itself open to radical witch hunts; and while the defenders of *status quo* maintained that Commonwealth was an insidious influence fomenting revolution, the liberals and

radicals spoke for freedom of speech and movement in America. Arkansas developed at that time on its eastern and western borders, several scenes of strikes, violence, and arrest that were typical of all parts of the national picture. In the midst of the unsavory Arkansas situation that was festering in the public mind the Governor was reported to have said, "Calling out the National Guard appears imminent."

Contrary to what might have been expected, the press on March 11 reported: "Solons decide Mena college teaching O. K." This appeared two days after a defense of Koch had been reported in newspapers which until then had minimized his views. Koch's defense deplored the impending threat to liberty of persons and institutions. "Commonwealth is one of the victims aimed at," he went on. "If you knew how that college was built you wouldn't want it victimized. It was built with hard work and energy and co-operative organization. We don't advocate any particular dogma. It is a non-factional institution. We present all points of view . . . We are working to assist the working man and the sharecroppers, and we will never withdraw that activity. We will not suffer an oppression without a fight." In reply to questioning Koch said he believed the Soviets had some advantages over the government of the United States, particularly "Because it has no unemployment." He also said the majority of the faculty did not believe in a supreme being, and the matter of the overthrow of the government was "ultimate". As a remedy for "conditions" in eastern Arkansas he recommended "community farming."

It is notable that during such a time of ill feeling and colored thinking, the ideal of justice was never far from the minds of both conflicting parties. It is to the credit of each antagonist that a fair statement was finally made. Like the forthright statement of Koch, the final statement of the legislative investigating committee is, in a way, a classic expression of the right of the individual to pursue his ways in peace under law. In its final report the committee "held the school to be free to teach what it pleased so long as its radical advocacy did not precipitate force and bloodshed." The report continued: "After all, a social system finds its final sanction in human happiness. The depression we are going through speaks out in no uncertain words that there is something wrong in the social and industrial system which calls for a study of causes, effects, and cures. No true American should object to anyone advocating a change in a system in order to cure the cause if the change as advocated is to be made in a peaceful manner and in accordance with the true principles of a Democratic government through the ballot." Another press report concluded the episode with a note of warning: "We recommend a close check be kept hereafter in the manner in which what they advocate is urged to be put in effect by the people, and if such teachings and principles tend to incite the people to overthrow of the present constituted government through violence and force or may reasonably be expected to



cause bloodshed, that they be prosecuted under present laws, now in effect." The warning and the fear on which it was founded were quite superfluous, as subsequent events soon proved.

After the flareup of 1935 the college returned to a kind of quasi-laborite basis, but for the most part it had seen its best days. In January 1936 was announced the largest enrollment in the history of the school, the number being seventy-four. In December of the same year the school was exercised over an exposé in *Liberty* magazine prepared by a special writer who had visited the campus for only two hours. As a result of this unflattering article the Senate Civil Liberties Committee was asked to investigate conditions near Mena, as it was alleged by officials of the school that the article might activate the people to violence against the institution. One of the charges in the magazine article that was most vigorously denied was the one of "mixed" bathing *a la Russe*. The only immediate consequence of the publicity appeared to be a Baptist preacher's attack on the college in which he declared its teaching tended to overthrow the government and to favor the establishment of a soviet in the Southland. This was answered with vehement denials from the college, the conclusion of which was: "We would, however, fight to retain democracy against fascism."

In the wake of the Senate Committee's refusal to investigate the college, a Polk county citizens' committee drew up a resolution signed by 914 residents expressing regret that the college "is in our midst," but was resentful of any possible violence against the college from farmers of the county. In February 1937, a news report declared that the D. A. R. was critical of the labor school, and other civic organizations reflected similar attitudes. Later the same year a reorganization plan within the college was announced. It was predicted that such a reorganization would tie the school more closely to Southern agriculture and trade unions. Nothing seems to have resulted from this reorganization, and the school continued in relative obscurity for three more years.

At this time a program for bringing culture to the farmers of the South seems to have been strongly recommended, and plays presenting the problems of share croppers were taken to rural communities of Arkansas and Oklahoma. A review of one of these productions ran as follows: "By its emphasis on an aspect of Southern life that cries to high heaven for official action, the play represents a worthy contribution to the growing repertory of labor plays dealing with the South." In 1939 the cultural program for the South was seriously disrupted by the spreading alarm that the Dies Committee would investigate the college; this plan, however, was not carried out. That the school was struggling to maintain itself in the face of all kinds of opposition is clearly seen in a short article appearing in *The New Republic* for May, 1939. In spite of calamities, including a lawsuit which finally terminated the school's existence, and a fire that had broken out in one of the frame buildings and destroyed the "museum

of social change," the writer was able to announce: "Commonwealth continues to carry on." Conditions continued uncertain for a number of months, and with declining funds and students, the college was still functioning in 1940. By the middle of that year it appears that all funds, students, and publicity had vanished, and the college paper that had carried on jauntily up to the end, sang its swan song thus: "Commonwealth College on September 1 will end to (*sic*) its 17 years of work in the South. During these years the college has been closer to the people than the public will ever know, for many of its good deeds remain hidden because of the violence of the forces of reaction. It has learned from the people, trained their leaders, provided training material for others. It has fought for the right to organize, for negro rights, for all the principles denied the South . . . Neighbors know our campus as a friendly gathering place; they know our telephone, mimeograph, transportation, has always been at their disposal. When a neighbor's wife was in childbirth in a comfortless shack, some one from Commonwealth would find a way to get blankets, an armful of wood, and help . . . In September the school will be turned over to the New Theatre League, for a Southern Labor theatre school." Less than a month later, on July 24, 1940, *The Christian Century*, which had carried a number of interested and sympathetic articles on the college, paid this sort a tribute to the defunct institution of learning: "Its presence has been of little value to the section. Its students have mainly come from and returned to the East. Communists and near-communists have often been in control. The non-communist majority have only infrequently had a voice in the school's affairs."

Thus ended the career of one of the many experiments in education that have ornamented the history of institutions of learning in the United States. In retrospect the seventeen years between 1923 and 1940 appear as one of the most topsy-turvy periods in American economic history, and the ministrations of a socially-conscious group in the interests of a suffering humanity were bound to attract publicity, both favorable and unfavorable. Aside from whatever ideological program the school may have had, the reactions to the experiment in the wilderness offer an instructive example of social dynamics in our time.

In assigning causes for the failure of the experiment, aside from the very tangible one of lack of support financially, the first in importance was the decline in the post-depression psychology of the late 1930's and the advent of a better business cycle. As educators, the leaders of the school were too frequently victimized by their self-conscious pioneering, and the students were probably too much overcome by a sense of messianic missions. In all their quixotic tilting at the windmills of the American system they reveal themselves as belonging to that colorful array of educational "experimentalists" that will continue to breed as long as freedom of thought and action remain educational ideals.

Repercussions of the school's leftist program of action were sounded

in the United States Senate debate of March 22, 1945, over nomination of Aubrey Williams, of Alabama, to be administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration. Although Williams's previous services as administrator of N. Y. A. were commended, there was some question about his liberality in granting funds to all youth groups, including those with radical leanings, which led to a discussion of his connection with the then non-existent Commonwealth College. In the course of debate, Senator McClellan, summarizing and quoting from a letter sent to him, February 23, 1945, by Mr. J. F. Quillin, Attorney of Mena, who was deputy prosecuting attorney at the time of the Commonwealth College trial, said: "He (Quillin) filed an information against Commonwealth College in 1939. He prosecuted the college on three counts: First, failure to display the United States flag during class hours—in Arkansas we have a state law requiring all public schools and institutions to display the flag; second, promoting doctrines and theories which had for their purpose the overthrow by force of the Government of the United States and the state of Arkansas; third, displaying an unlawful emblem, to wit, the Russian hammer and sickle." After further Senatorial investigation, which stamped the college as subversive and communistic, Senator McClellan then quoted that part of Mr. Quillin's letter touching on the lawsuit, and concluded the quotation thus: "No appeal was taken from these convictions, although several dilatory motions were appealed to the Supreme Court. Upon execution of the Polk County Circuit Court all their properties were sold and the life of the institution was ended."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>The complete text of Mr. Quillin's letter to Senator McClellan is printed in *Congressional Record*, vol. 91, pt. 2, pp. 2602-2603.

## Monopoly, 1948

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### I

It is fortunate that this paper on Monopoly, 1948 Version, did not appear some months ago when it was in the process of preparation. Someone at that time would have been sure to exclaim: "What wild and reckless temerity, to criticise our free enterprise system when it is functioning so perfectly!"

Such a critic would have been correct, of course. At that time, in January, 1948, everyone who wanted to work was employed, the average real wages of Americans, in spite of high prices, was the highest in our experience, and *Fortune Magazine*, in one of its inspired editorials, in its January issue, entitled "Who's Utopian Now?", reported that our system of private capitalism because of its postwar performance had vindicated itself, implying that if there had been any criticism of the system in the past few decades those making such criticisms had been unnecessarily alarmed.

Events since then have shaken some of us out of our trance and we are beginning to suspect that we are not living in a utopia, not even a private capitalism one, and, much less, we may not even be in a new era. Instead, some fear we are about to take up where we left off, before the War provided an interesting interlude.

If this is correct—that we are getting back to normal and about to take up business at the same old stand—then the same old problems that plagued our economy in the Thirties will be returning to plague us again, and not the least of those old problems was the problem of monopoly.

There should be interjected at this point a recognition of the fact that monopoly is no new problem, and it may be that a re-analysis of it will uncover nothing new. It might still be contended, however, that it is worthwhile to re-say regularly what may have been said before, because of the growing importance of this problem to our economic welfare and because very little if anything has been or is being done about it.

### II

To comprehend the present-day picture of monopoly in the United States we need first to be fully aware of the fact that our concept of the meaning of the word monopoly has been undergoing change. Or perhaps the change has been in the nature of monopoly itself. At any rate, it is no longer accurate to think of monopoly as meaning only *one* seller, the power possessed by one business unit, even though that one may be a combination. Such units would be monopolies, of course, if the single firm or the combination possessed such control over the supply as to



be able to exert appreciable control over the price. But today we have many industries in which we are confident monopoly power exists and is being exerted, even though there may be a number of producers in the industry and they, so far as we can judge, are making no conscious effort to act as one. Other terms have been used to designate this use of monopoly power, perhaps the best of them being *oligopoly*.

The point would seem to be that we need to recognize more fully that monopoly is a power—a power that may be possessed by one business organization, by a combination of units formally combined, or by a number of business organizations in a given industry not formally combined or consciously cooperating with one another. We should recognize, also, that monopoly power is relative, that there are degrees of monopoly. Following the older meaning of monopoly we would have to say that we have no monopoly today, except that under control in the public utility field or that permitted by patent and copyright laws. Yet there is abundant evidence that we are not witnessing what we would expect to find as the consequences of full and free competition.

Thus we must conclude that whenever a firm or group of firms, acting together or independently, is able to exert any appreciable control over the supply and through the supply, the price of a commodity or service, so that the returns are appreciably above what truly free competition would afford over a period of years, it may be said correctly that such firm or firms possess monopoly power.

An illustration of the idea involved is afforded by a study of the profit history of two hundred large industrial corporations made by the National City Bank of New York covering the period 1923 through 1947. Over this period of time—a period during which the greatest depression in our history greatly affected the profit possibilities, and also a period which included the World War II years during which high corporation taxes probably more than neutralized the possibilities brought on by the War—in this twenty-five year period the net income of this group, after all taxes, depreciation, interest, and all other charges and reserves, averaged around nine percent on the net worth. The reader may judge as to whether nine percent would be a truly competitive average return, after all risk had been accounted for, for such a period, especially when commercial paper rates, bond interest, and other evidences of the worth of capital were declining. Granted there was no collusion among these two hundred, there was something they possessed which made it possible, over the entire period, for them to command a higher than competitive return. That something must be called monopoly power.

What we need to recognize now in this problem of monopoly is that monopoly is a *condition*. It is not an unusual, localized, easily-diagnosed, extraneous growth on our body economic. It is, rather, a widespread, internal, apparently natural development which has permeated in varying degrees all parts of our economy. This modern form of monopoly is

one against which the Government and the public in general has been quite helpless. The consequences of monopoly occur, but no present law can bring anyone to account. In fact, it would be quite true to insist that, up to a point, the participants are not at fault—they are the instruments of the changed conditions which have created the opportunity. Of course, it must be agreed that these underlying forces tending toward monopoly encourage and make it easier for business men to be induced to instigate actual monopoly practices, such as price agreements, pooling, cartel arrangements, etc. But the point still stands that our great monopoly problem of this day is caused by the change in the nature of our way of doing things, as we have moved into this period of corporate, large-scale, highly industrialized, highly capitalized, finance-centered economy.

This will become more obvious as we examine the causes which seem to have brought about this natural tendency toward monopoly. These may be enumerated as follows:

First, the nature of the product and of its production being such that only a few producers are needed to provide the total supply required. Almost all our manufacturing industries, such as the production of automobiles, steel, electric appliances, rubber goods, etc., illustrate this condition.

Second, the nature of production being such that extensive quantities of fixed capital are needed. Industries having this characteristic, and that would again include most of the manufacturing group, will have heavy fixed charges and will be anxious to protect their fixed investment and therefore to avoid price competition.

Third, conditions being such that it is difficult for new capital to enter. Any new competitor, seeking to enter an industry affected by the above-mentioned characteristics, would need to start on a large scale, with a large amount of capital. These would not be his only handicaps. He might find it necessary to obtain the use of many patents held by the others in the industry, and he might find it difficult to obtain supplies and to find outlets for his finished products. The problems of the Kaiser-Frazer Co. will make an interesting story in this connection, if the facts ever come to light.

As a fourth point, there should be added the increasing importance of technology. Modern industry relies increasingly upon research and scientific advancement in technology in general. Patents thus become of ever-growing significance. A patent monopoly, once established, becomes self-perpetuating. Any corporation, having accumulated a large store of patents, can find a basis upon which to pursue almost any competitor.

It would, of course, be untrue to the facts to imply that all the causes have been "natural," in the sense that man played no part in them. Such natural tendencies have, we know, been reinforced substantially at times by trade associations, by verbal or written cartel understandings, by conscious "follow-the-leader" price practices, by legislation put through be-

cause of concentrated pressure, etc. All this, of course, is part of the total picture.

### III

To learn the extent of this monopoly power in recent years we shall need to recall a little history. No complete history is necessary, of course—most of it is familiar. The high-lights pertinent to our present inquiry would include the following:

1. The growth of the corporation.
2. The combination movement.
3. Concentration of control in corporations.
4. Cartel developments.
5. The trade association developments.
6. Pertinent government legislation.

This history in the main may be confined to the past sixty or seventy years. Much of the information needed must come from Government reports, and we shall confine ourselves here almost entirely to such sources. In the Spring of 1938 President Roosevelt sent a message to Congress calling attention to the growing concentration of economic power. Out of this message grew the TNEC, the Temporary National Economic Committee, authorized by Congress, which in about three years produced some 17,000 pages of material on the subject. It is interesting to note that the joint resolution authorizing the TNEC, called for an investigation of "*monopoly* and the concentration of economic power," yet all of the publications issued by the Committee carried only the title "Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power," thus recognizing the nature of monopoly power as we have described it above.

From these TNEC and similar reports we learn the following interesting and pertinent facts:

Four hundred and fifty-five corporations, which constitute less than one-eighth of one per cent of all corporations in the United States, own 51 per cent of the assets of all corporations.

From 1919 to 1939 inclusive, 95,020 corporations have gone out of industry and commerce by the merger route.

By 1939, 33 per cent of all manufactured products were produced under conditions in which the four largest producers of each individual product accounted for over 75 per cent of the total United States output.

One-third of all industrial-research personnel were employed by 13 companies.

Less than 4 per cent of all manufacturing corporations earned 84 per cent of all the net profits of all manufacturing corporations.

Only 10,000 persons own one-fourth of all the stock of American

corporations, and 75,000 persons own one-half of all the corporate stock of the country.

Only 61,000 persons received one-half of all dividends paid by American corporations.

Three families have shareholdings valued at nearly \$1,400,000,000 (1939) which give control over 15 of the 200 largest nonfinancial corporations.

In 1935 nearly a third of the directorships on the boards of the 250 largest corporations were held by 400 men.

In 1935 there were 8 financial interest groups that controlled 106 of the 250 largest corporations and nearly two-thirds of their combined assets.

This movement toward more rapid growth in the size of the few large corporations, toward more combination of the few already-large corporations, toward more control of both corporations and combinations by a few individuals and toward more control by a few banking groups—all this continued during the War and in the post-war period. War contracts totaling over \$175,000,000,000 were awarded to 18,539 corporations, but two-thirds of those went to the top 100 corporations and fully 30 per cent went to the top ten. No less than 83.4 per cent of the value of the privately-operated, publicly-financed industrial facilities used during the War were operated by 168 corporations, and nearly half were operated by the corporations that had operated them during the War. There are no indications in the post-war years that this movement toward greater concentration has been halted.

To this picture must now be superimposed the part being played by many of the larger industries in international cartels. International cartel agreements speed domestic concentration of control. In order to become a member of an international cartel and gain its advantages the domestic producers must have full control over their domestic markets. Thus the possibilities of cartel advantages encourage local units of an industry to get together. At the same time, a cartel will make domestic monopoly more effective by insulating the domestic members against foreign competition. No accurate figures can be found on the extent of international cartel influence on American business, but the following quotation from *Cartels in Action* by Stocking and Watkins, a recent Twentieth Century Fund publication, is indicative:

Suggestive of the scope and impact of international cartels on the American economy, however, are calculations which we have made of the ratio of 1939 United States sales of those mineral, agricultural, and manufactured products which have been directly affected by cartel regulation to total sales in that year. The ratio was computed separately for each of these three major classes of products. Our tentative findings indicate that 87 per cent by value of mineral products sold in this country in 1939, 60 per cent of agricultural products, and 42 per cent of manufactured products were cartelized.



This does not yet complete the story. In addition we must visualize the tremendous growth of trade associations, bringing together special and general interest groups.

These trade associations, according to Robert A. Brady, began to be organized in the period immediately following that of the "trusts," not to level down those "trusts," but to "democratize" analogous privileges for the business community as a whole. They were commonly referred to as instruments for "business cooperation," quite in keeping with the anti-competitive spirit of the times. In 1937, in addition to finance, railroad and utility associations, there were in the United States some 2,400 national and international associations, over 4,100 state and local groups, not to overlook 5,400 local chambers of commerce. All told, it is estimated there are around 19,000 trade associations of greater or lesser scope. It is quite impossible here to treat fully the relationship of these many associations to our picture of monopoly, but it would appear that the following statements could safely be made: (1) these associations in general tend to be dominated by the same group that dominates the respective industries making up their membership; (2) many associations are assuming more and more cartel-like functions; and (3) it is quite impossible to find any trade association activities that would seem to strengthen full and free competition. In other words, trade associations tend to increase concentration of control and encourage anti-competition.

One further aspect of this grim picture must be included—the increasing use of government in bolstering the monopoly cause. Only two lines of approach need be mentioned: (1) efforts that foster monopoly conditions, such as protective tariffs, resale-price maintenance laws, discriminatory taxes such as that on oleomargarine; (2) efforts to excuse particular industries from the anti-monopoly statutes. In recent years the rate-fixing activities of railroads, the news-service distribution by press associations, and the insurance business have sought to be so favored.

#### IV

This does not make a pretty picture. Again, may it be emphasized, we are dealing with a *condition*, and recent history shows clearly no tendency for it to abate. It is not a situation conducive to the continuance of our slumbers, if we are concerned about our free enterprise system or/and our democratic way of life. It is only a short step from fascism in business to fascism in government. Dr. Robert A. Brady, in his book *Business as a System of Power*, cleared the path for us on that point.

As to the relations of this monopoly power to our system of free private enterprise, permit me to quote again from George Stocking in his *Cartels in Action*:

A strikingly wide divergence is shown in these case studies between business philosophy and business practice, between business rhetoric and business be-

havior. In surveying the actual conduct of business, one encounters with less and less frequency evidences of those economic principles and habits of thought which supposedly animate a free private enterprise system. The assumptions of unhindered initiation of productive enterprise, of unobstructed flow of investment funds into whatever channels promise a differential return so that profit margins are equalized all along the line, of single-minded preoccupation by enterprisers with cost reduction and sales expansion, and of unmitigated rivalry for patronage—with the humble consumer in the enviable position of the biblical meek—these assumptions are the gist of the folklore by which businessmen keep alive their faith in the current economic system. And their advertising managers, like the king's jesters, do not let them—or us—forget these heart-warming anachronisms.

What was once a way of life in the business world is fast becoming a way of rumination—or oratory. If competition is to survive, it must be more than a shibboleth or a slogan. The discrepancy between the truths which men live by—in business—and the truths which they profess but do not live by, is one of the most significant, *and disturbing*, revelations of this survey.

This growth of monopoly power is thus a threat both to our democracy and to our order of free private enterprise. It results in unused resources, in less efficient production, in a restriction upon individual initiative, in a negation of competition, in uneven distribution of income, and in general prevents our system from functioning in a self-adjusting manner. Eventually this must lead to a breakdown.

These are not superficial consequences. The problem must be solved if our system is to survive. It is as simple as that. As we consider solutions, therefore, we must keep in mind that a serious disease may require drastic medicine. We can expect little from the time-honored approach stemming from the Sherman Act of 1890. Such efforts are all right as far as they go, but they cannot go far enough. A more realistic program is needed. The following suggestions for such a program are offered in all humility, as a basis for discussion only:

1. Require Federal incorporation of all corporations doing an interstate business.
2. Restrict each corporation to one major line of business, thus encouraging more freedom of initiative and permitting more persons in positions of enterprisers.
3. Allow one corporation to own stock in other corporations only by special permission.
4. Permit no inside expansion of corporations, except by special permission.
5. Use a moderate excess-profits tax on corporate incomes above a rather high level, with permission to carry forward losses up to five years.
6. Require all international cartel agreements to be filed with the Government and made public.

7. Revise the patent laws.
8. Continue present anti-trust and Federal Trade Commission activities on an enlarged scale.
9. Eliminate Government helps to monopoly, such as resale-price maintenance laws, protective tariffs, etc.
10. Recognize that some industries need to be called public utilities, and therefore thoroughly regulated or nationalized.

These *might* solve the problem! If they seem drastic do not forget we are trying to combat a fatal disease.

## Comparison of Veterans and Nonveterans on Oklahoma Farms

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*Introduction.* This study compares selected social and economic characteristics of veterans and nonveterans of similar ages living in the open country of Oklahoma.

It is estimated that from 20,000 to 25,000 veterans of World War II are farming in Oklahoma. Most of them have begun farming operations within the last two or three years. They have entered agriculture during a period of intensive competition and subsequent high prices for land, livestock, and equipment. Their bargaining position is not the best despite their youth, financial aid under veterans' legislation, and other less obvious advantages. Generally, they lack the experience of nonveterans in buying and selling, and in farming operations.

What social and economic advantages or disadvantages have veterans experienced in civilian life as a result of military service? Have the various rehabilitation programs assisted veterans in achieving a status comparable to men of similar ages whose careers were not interrupted by military duty? This study seeks to provide partial answers to these questions, and to furnish a bench mark for later analyses of veterans' progress in agriculture.

Data for the study were taken from a random-sample survey of open-country families in four selected counties of Oklahoma during the summer of 1947. Veterans were found in 93 households, all of them being heads, and all except four being married. From a list of non veterans' households, 59 were selected in which the ages of heads averaged the same as those of veterans. The average age of both groups was 28.7 years. An effort to match the two groups by counties failed for the reason that veterans resided predominantly in the two eastern Oklahoma counties surveyed, while nonveterans of corresponding ages were concentrated in the two counties on the west side of the State (Table I). To correct for this, all tabulated data for nonveterans were adjusted for differences due to location, by weighting the averages and percentages of items in each county according to the proportion of all veterans living there.

Table I. Distribution of Veteran and Nonveteran Families Surveyed, by Counties in Oklahoma, 1947

County	Veterans	Nonveterans
All counties	93	59
Blaine	19	15
Comanche	18	25
Mayes	34	11
Pittsburg	22	8

\*Published as a contribution of the Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station.



*Size of Family.* The nonveterans included in this study had been married 7.5 years and veterans 4.9 years on an average. Though this difference is highly significant statistically, the numbers of persons per household were nearly the same for both groups, the averages being 3.7 for veterans and 3.9 for nonveterans. The fertility of veterans exceeded that of nonveterans to a significant degree, the fertility indexes being 39 and 29, respectively.<sup>1</sup> However in proportion to numbers, nearly twice as many veteran couples as nonveteran couples had no children. Apparently veterans consisted of two distinct groups: those who had large families at the expense of status, and those who postponed having children in order to gain a better economic foothold. Slightly more veterans than nonveterans had household members in addition to parents and children.

*Schooling.* As shown in Table II, Items 6 and 7, the amounts of schooling possessed by husbands and wives were similar for the two groups studied. The slight advantage of veterans and their wives in the over-all averages was not uniform for all counties. A majority of the veterans on farms were enrolled in the government agricultural training program, and this effort should tend to minimize differences in farm experience between veterans and nonveterans. Incidentally, all veteran trainees in Oklahoma are required to keep farm account records, which is a desirable farming practice not generally prevalent among farmers in this State.

*Tenure Background.* Differences in family background suggest a disproportionate back-to-the-farm selection of veterans from families with a lower tenure status than nonveterans. At the time of marriage, two-thirds of the veterans and three-fourths of the non veterans, and/or their wives in each case, were sons or daughters of farm owners or proprietors of other businesses. In other words, it is predominantly the property owning classes who are replacing the older farm population.

Nearly all men of both groups were reared on farms, and most of them resided during their teen ages in communities where they now live. This means that differences observed in this study cannot be ascribed to migration other than that involved in military duty.

*Farm Tenure.* Small differences existed between the tenure of the two groups. Thirty-four percent of the veterans and 36 percent of the nonveterans were farm owners, while 56 percent of the veterans and 57 percent of the nonveterans were farm tenants. Neither of these differences is statistically significant, nor is the direction of differences consistent among the four counties. A higher percentage of nonveterans than of veterans operated land in addition to that owned. The data on rental agreements between tenants and landlords disclosed that one-half of the veterans paid cash rent as compared with one-third of the nonveterans. This suggests that landlords protected themselves through cash rentals

<sup>1</sup> Fertility index = 
$$\frac{\text{Number of children born alive} \times 100}{\text{Number of years wives married to age 45}}$$

against the veterans' lack of experience and possibly limited workstock and machinery. Slightly more veterans than nonveterans reported 25 days' or more employment at work off the farm.

Although similar proportions of veteran and nonveteran farm owners reported mortgages, the ratio of debt to value of farm averaged 44 percent among veterans and 27 percent among nonveterans. This highly significant difference is due to the fact that veterans purchased farms in a period of sharply rising land prices and with a large amount of mortgage credit.

*Farm Business.* In western Oklahoma, veterans generally operated farms with smaller acreages than nonveterans, but this was not true in eastern Oklahoma. The farms of all veterans for both areas averaged 162 acres, and those of nonveterans, 186 acres. Veterans, with an average of 83 acres in cultivation, had a slightly higher proportion of land in crops than nonveterans, with an average of 86 acres.

Differences in type of farming between the two groups were negligible. Self-sufficing farms appeared to be more numerous among veterans than nonveterans in eastern Oklahoma. This may be due to either or both of these circumstances: First, a few veterans receiving government checks obviously had not put forth much effort to organize and operate their farms; and, second, lack of capital may have hindered the establishment of more commercialized farms. Some evidence of this latter influence may be observed in the significantly smaller number of animal units on farms of veterans than on those of nonveterans (Table II). Also, a smaller proportion of veterans' farms were equipped with tractors, and fewer veterans' families owned an automobile.

Because of differences in total acres per farm, the average value of farms among veterans was \$6281 as compared with \$7381 for nonveterans. The per-acre value of farm land and buildings was similar for both groups.

Nearly all veterans received financial assistance on the vocational agriculture training or the self-employment programs, and 53 percent either borrowed money from lending agencies on their veterans' rights or received loans, gifts, or inheritances of cash, land, machinery, or livestock from relatives. In contrast, only 39 percent of nonveterans had received, during earning life, any form of financial assistance from relatives or the Farmers Home Administration.

*Farming Practices.* The quality of farmers is often judged by the practices used in their farming operations. In this survey farmers were questioned on 22 farming practices. Comparisons between veterans and nonveterans on ten items are given in Table II.

The proportions of veterans fall below those of nonveterans on eight of the ten practices listed. Because veterans on the vocational agricultural training program are required to keep farm account records, they exceeded nonveterans to a significant degree in this practice. On the other hand, reliably higher percentages of nonveterans than of veterans reported

feeding a protein supplement to milk cows, culling chickens regularly, and wives managing one or more farm enterprises. The interest and help of the wife in farming is closely associated with success in agriculture, according to studies of farmers in Minnesota and Indiana.<sup>2</sup>

*Income and Living Expenditures.* Since many veterans were receiving self-employment and vocational agricultural training benefits from the Federal government at the time of interview, consideration of this is taken into account in comparing their incomes with those of nonveterans. The average gross farm income of nonveterans was 78 percent greater than that reported by veterans during the twelve-month period ending in July 1947 (Table II). When salaries, wages, and other cash income, including veterans' benefits, were added to farm income, veterans received an average of \$2387, and nonveterans, \$3192. When these figures were increased by the imputed values of home-produced food, fuel, and rent, the average total incomes became \$2812 and \$3609 for veterans and nonveterans, respectively.

The cost of family living was obtained in sufficient detail to furnish a basis for comparison. For all living expenditures, including home-produced items, the averages were \$2065 for veteran and \$2229 for nonveteran families. Cost of living purchases amounted to 82 percent of the total living costs for each group of families. The proportion of gross cash income spent for family living was the same for both groups.

*Housing.* On seven of the eight housing items shown in Table II, veterans' families compared unfavorably with nonveterans' families. Dwellings of veterans were valued less, were more over-crowded, and fewer had outside walls painted and such conveniences as running water, electricity, and radio. These differences, though not significant, are consistent in direction and leave little doubt as to the relative inferiority of veterans' housing.

*Social Participation.* Veterans showed nearly as much interest in local organizations as nonveterans whose residence in the home community was not interrupted by military service. The average social participation index score of veterans and their wives was 3.5, and of nonveterans and their wives, 3.8. This index measures the extent of membership, attendance, and office holding in various community organizations. A reliably higher proportion of veterans than of nonveterans were church members, but there was no difference in attendance at one-fourth or more of the church services. Wives were church members and attended church more frequently than husbands in both groups.

*Socio-economic Status.* One of the best available measures of socio-

<sup>2</sup>Walter M. Wilcox and O. G. Lloyd, *The Human Factor in the Management of Indiana Farms*, Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bull. No. 369, August 1932, p. 2.

economic status is the scale devised by Sewell.<sup>2</sup> On this scale of 36 items, including material and cultural possessions and social participation, the mean score of veterans was 156 and that of nonveterans 160. This small difference is not significant, but it indicates that veterans are acquiring those possessions and participation patterns that will put them on an equal social level with nonveterans of their own age.

*Conclusions.* This study of 93 veterans and 59 nonveterans, matched for age and equated for location, indicated few statistically significant differences among selected social and economic characteristics, but the direction of difference on most items was to the disadvantage of veterans. The question arises: Are these only temporary differences that will disappear when veterans get their farms more fully organized, or will they become permanent handicaps?

The largest or most persistent differences between veterans and nonveterans were found in family fertility rates, housing, number of animal units, farming practices, and relative amount of indebtedness among farm owners.

Though married a shorter time than nonveterans, veterans had significantly higher fertility rates. In this age of mechanization, children are no longer the assets to a farmer that they have been in the past. On the contrary, if veterans continue to have more children than nonveterans, this could prove, over a long period, to be a serious economic handicap.

The housing of veterans was definitely inferior to that of nonveterans. This may be because veterans had not had time to complete purchases and installations of scarce plumbing, heating, and electrical equipment. These families apparently moved into the poorer, available dwellings in the open country, judged on the basis of value.

Despite the high proportions of veterans receiving financial assistance, shortages of capital among them were evident. As was pointed out above, the veterans surveyed lived predominantly in eastern Oklahoma where small-scale commercial and self-sufficing farming are prevalent. Even after adjustments of data for nonveterans due to differences in location, veterans had only two-thirds as much live stock as nonveterans.

The high ratio of debt to total value among owner-operated farms of veterans reflects possession of limited capital. Unless veterans can greatly reduce their farm mortgage indebtedness before farm prices begin to decline, they will enter a depression burdened with high fixed interest costs and limited chances of liquidating the principal.

Farming practices are acquired with experience, and more veterans may be expected to adopt improved practices as time passes. In fact,

<sup>2</sup>William H. Sewell, *The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families*, Stillwater: Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Tech. Bull. No. 9, April, 1940.



their intensive formal training in agriculture should more than offset in ultimate value the nonveterans' longer farming experience.

To summarize, the results of this study indicate that veterans on farms tend to compare unfavorably with nonveterans of similar age on items reflecting social and economic status. The rehabilitation programs have aided materially in minimizing differences between the two groups, and, given more time, veterans on farms through their own efforts probably will overcome economic handicaps resulting from military service.

Further research is needed in the future to observe social and economic differences existing between veteran and nonveteran farmers of comparable age. The practical effects of interrupting farming careers by military duty has important implications which researchers and policy makers should not neglect.

Table II. Social and Economic Characteristics of Veteran and Non-veteran Families Living in the Open Country of Four Oklahoma Counties, 1947.

Characteristic	Veterans	Nonveterans
<i>Average</i>		
1. Age of husband, years	28.7	28.7
2. Age of wife, years	24.4**	27.6**
3. Number of years married	4.9**	7.5**
4. Number of persons per household	3.7	3.9
5. Fertility index	39.1	28.5
6. Grades compl. in school, husband	9.1	8.6
7. Grades compl. in school, wife	10.5	9.9
8. Acres per farm	162.3	186.5
9. Acres cultivated per farm	83.0	86.3
10. Animal units per farm	11.7**	17.1**
11. Value of farm, dollars	6281.0	7381.0
12. Per acre value of farm, dollars	37.3	38.2
13. Gross farm income, dollars	1717.0**	3053.0**
14. Gross family income, dollars	2387.0	3192.0
15. Gross family income, including perquisites, dollars	2812.0	3609.0
16. Total cost of living, dollars	2065.0	2607.0
17. Cost of living purchased, dollars	1698.0	2229.0
18. Value of dwelling, dollars	1114.0	1357.0
19. Social participation score	3.5	3.8
20. Socio-economic status scale score	155.7	160.4
<i>Percent of:</i>		
21. Couples without children	27.0*	14.9*
22. Families with additional members	24.7	20.3
23. Parents of husband or wife classed as farm owner or proprietor	67.0	75.4

24. Families classed as:	Full owners	22.6	18.1
	Part owners	11.8	18.4
	Tenants	60.2	57.0
	Others	5.4	6.5
25. Heads having part-time employment		35.5	30.9
26. Tenants paying cash rent		50.0	32.1
27. Owner-operated farms with mortgage		53.1	55.6
28. Mortgage debt is of total farm value		43.8**	26.9**
29. Farms with tractor		39.8	46.7
30. Families with automobile		55.9	66.0
31. Heads receiving specified financial assistance		52.7*	39.4*
32. Farmers using these farm practices:			
a. Record of receipts and expenses		71.7*	53.8*
b. Crop rotation system		25.8	26.9
c. Contour or terrace farming		31.2	31.1
d. Commercial fertilizer on cash crops		19.4	27.6
e. Certified seed		62.9	64.2
f. Pure-bred livestock		22.9	33.3
g. Cull hens regularly		46.3*	66.3*
h. Sell cream regularly		47.9	58.5
i. Protein supplement for milk cows		61.4*	78.2*
j. Wife manages a farm enterprise		58.0**	83.3**
33. Dwellings painted		50.0	58.2
34. Dwellings with:			
a. Running water		8.7	15.2
b. Electricity		35.9	48.2
c. Mechanical refrigerator		22.8	17.5
d. Radio		89.1	92.6
e. Telephone		16.3	16.5
35. Dwellings with less than 1.51 persons per room		82.8	85.2
36. Husbands who are church members		35.5*	23.0*
37. Wives who are church members		49.5	41.5
38. Husbands who attend church		34.4	33.0
39. Wives who attend church		44.1	38.1

\*\* Differences between means or percentages significant to 1 percent level.

\* Differences between means or percentages significant to 5 percent level.

## International Trade Barriers and World Peace

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Since this discussion is to be concerned with "trade barriers", it may be well to identify what is meant by the term. The meaning of the term "world peace" I shall not attempt to define—although it may well be as much in need of definition as the term "trade barriers".

Trade barriers include tariffs on imports (and, much more rarely, tariffs on exports). They include embargoes on imports (and, much more rarely, embargoes on exports). Trade barriers include quota systems which more generally restrict imports than exports. The quota systems are generally supplemented by a licensing mechanism.

Trade barriers include exchange control with its myriad complications: the requirement that an importer obtain the foreign exchange with which to make a foreign payment from a government agency; or the requirement that an exporter turn all or part of the proceeds of his sale of goods abroad over to a government agency; or the establishment of several different exchange rates at which the government will buy or sell foreign exchange, utilizing the rate that government policy finds most appropriate under the circumstances.

Even currency devaluation, which occurs more often than the reverse process, should be included because of the restricting end result of a series of devaluations by various countries. So also, various sorts of bilateral trade treaties should be included. Clearing, compensation, and payments agreements have generally been designed by the country which initiates them to force some foreign country to increase its purchases from the country originating the scheme; but they tend to end by reducing the total amount of trade.

Before passing on to consider the motives which inspire countries to establish trade barriers, two comments are in order:

First: In peacetime there can be little doubt but that, in terms of total effect, trade barriers tend to reduce imports relative to exports—or would do so if it were not for the counteracting effect of the trade barriers of other countries, which tend to make the end result of all the barriers the reduction of trade.

Second: State trading cannot legitimately be classified with trade barriers nor is it necessarily restrictive of trade. The term state trading, of course, describes the situation in which a government is engaged in international trade for its own account. So far as state trading is concerned no case has yet been made to prove that it operates in a restrictive manner on total trade—in the fashion that trade barriers in general tend to operate.

There can be little doubt but that in the 1930's, so far as it was possible to do so, nations were using trade restrictions so that, if they had

not been counteracted by the restrictions of other countries, they would have encouraged exports relative to imports.

However several exceptions to this situation should be noted. In connection with her stockpiling of raw materials in anticipation of war, Germany during the 1930's at least was favoring certain imports. In war time, it would seem that the general statement would be valid that countries regiment their trade (both exports and imports) with the prime purpose of winning the war. And the encouragement of exports relative to imports becomes a minor consideration. Also it is probably true that during the present period of post-war shortages, many countries are so desperately in need of food and clothing that the system of trade restrictions they operate encourages the import of those things.

Nevertheless it is true that (at least in the countries operating under systems of free private enterprise) as soon as the period of post-war shortages is over, they will return to systems of trade barriers which discourage imports relative to exports.

And the general proposition is valid that trade barriers tend to discourage imports relative to exports.

It therefore is pertinent to inquire into the validity of the arguments for an export balance of trade and into the real reason that many countries strive to have such a balance.

The most venerable of the arguments to justify an export surplus is that of the "mercantilists", who thought that such a surplus would attract gold and that gold was desirable in and of itself—which is true if one likes to run ones fingers through it. But, of course, as long as it is buried at Ft. Knox this is not feasible for the average individual.

More sophisticated is the argument that an excess of exports makes an inflow of money possible. But the argument is really more sophisticated merely because it is more obscure. Money may be gold, in which case it is as desirable as gold. Or money may be paper, in which case it is possible to "print up" a supply; and it is definitely not necessary to go to the trouble to arrange for an export surplus to accomplish that desired end.

More important is the argument based on the "foreign trade multiplier". This is the Keynesian argument, based on the assumption that an export surplus may have the same sort of multiplier effect as does new investment. And an excess of exports, by injecting a little new use of purchasing power into the economy, may set in motion a train of events that will increase employment in the exporting country and have as an end result the presence of a higher real income in the exporting country—in spite of the export surplus.

This argument is dependent for its validity upon two assumptions. The first is a peculiar sort of institutional order in the society of the exporting country which causes the economy of that country to act in the odd manner indicated. But we have such a peculiar sort of an institutional



order in the United States; so the first assumption would seem to be justified, at least for this country and a good many others (but not for Russia).

The second assumption is not so obviously valid. The operation of the "foreign trade multiplier" is dependent for its success on the cooperation of foreign countries in an area of activity where they are notoriously not prone to cooperate. Most economists who have written on the subject seem to assume such foreign cooperation and to proceed blithely with argument about the details of the manner in which the foreign trade multiplier is assumed to operate. (See two articles by J. J. Polak and Gottfried Haberler in the winter 1948 *American Economic Review*).

Such articles on the foreign trade multiplier are prone totally to disregard the fact that when one nation raises its tariff to keep out imports other countries do the same; or that when one country devalues its currency to encourage exports other countries will follow suit; or that when one country establishes a quota system other countries will do so too. At the beginning of the 1930's currency devaluation looked like a good means to encourage exports relative to imports. But everybody else very inconsiderately devalued and neutralized the gain. (A few countries like Germany did not devalue because they had some better ideas.) The decade of the 1930's was the golden age when countries were operating on the theory that an export surplus may be good because it increases national income and employment. Yet the 1930's were characterized merely by a wave of trade retaliations, which resulted in the curtailment of imports all around and therefore of exports also. And this happened because it is possible for countries to keep out imports, but it is not possible for them to force other countries to take their exports (except under very unusual circumstances like the present).

Under present circumstances the United States can send abroad almost unlimited quantities of goods and have them readily accepted by the importing country. But these are special circumstances. And in connection with the Marshall Plan this may be said: The Marshall Plan will be brought to an end not by any time limit set on it by the United States, but rather by the European countries. Those countries will commence to re-establish their barriers against imports as soon as they can half-way afford to do so.

The fourth of the arguments for an export surplus is the "cheap foreign labor" argument. The argument that goods produced by cheap foreign labor should be kept out of the United States was "heaven sent" so far as the segment of American industry that especially wants tariff protection was concerned. Never had the "producer-protectionists" had such a windfall as they found in this argument. And probably never has the American labor movement been so "taken in" as it has been by this argument.

If there is anything in which the great mass of the population has a real

interest, it is in more and cheaper goods. Labor lobbies should be fighting in Washington for a lowering of tariffs and a flood of cheap foreign goods, instead of playing the "producer-protectionist's" game by endorsing import restrictions. Labor would be well advised to remember that the high wage scale of American labor is a result of a combination of factors which has made lower unit costs possible in the United States. American labor, in most lines, can undersell "cheap foreign labor" because cheap foreign labor does not necessarily mean low unit costs.

The fifth argument that has been perverted to justify an export surplus involves the proposition that such a surplus is necessary in order to insure self-sufficiency in the event of war. Common sense might indicate that the better argument would be that imports should be encouraged to prepare for war. But the argument was probably more generally used in connection with the proposition that a self-sufficient industrial plant (or autarky) is necessary. To establish an autarkical industrial order it is necessary to have a lot of inefficient industries. These need protection against foreign competition, and they also need artificial markets. So, to prepare a self-sufficient industrial system in anticipation of war it has been thought necessary to discourage imports relative to exports. Formerly the argument was difficult to answer. Now it is not so difficult, thanks to the much-discussed atom bomb. The next war is going to be short. There is not much point in worrying about building up a self-sufficient industrial system to see a country through a 30 minute or even a three month war.

Such are the rationalizations that have been used to justify an effort to favor exports relative to imports. It may be worth dwelling a moment on the circumstance which causes governments actually to encourage exports relative to imports—a circumstance which does not really have a great deal to do with any of the preceding rationalizations.

Producers are primarily interested in profits from their products. Profits may be obtained, among other ways, by an astute pushing of exports (with the aid of subsidies, if you can get them) and by the keeping out of foreign competition.

Consumers would be benefited by increased imports and lower prices for goods.

But in our society producers are better organized than consumers. It might be said that, even though most people are both producers and consumers, most people are organized into groups to push their interests as producers rather than in groups to push their interests as consumers. And, influenced more by producer pressure therefore than by consumer pressure, legislatures aid production relatively more than consumption. And one of the forms this aid takes is seen in the fact that the United States has tariffs on imports but not on exports, often gives subsidies to exports but rarely to imports, etc.

So countries have, through the years since mercantilism, merrily proceeded to practice mercantilism (in spite of Adam Smith) and they have

done so because of the fact that producer pressure is more effectively exerted than consumer pressure.

So much for the encouragement of exports, which has been important in controlling the types of trade barriers that countries have established and which will again be important as soon as the period of post-war shortages is over. It may be remarked that that point has been reached already in the case of sugar. And in the year 1948 the United States quota system will keep out a substantial amount of Cuban sugar that would be glad to come in at the prevailing price.

So much for the past and so much for the logical case. What does all this mean in terms of the relationship between future international trade barriers and future peace? The problem may be dealt with in terms of two possibilities: first, war with Russia; second, war with a country with the same sort of economic system we have.

So far as the Russian problem is concerned, I believe the answer is simple. We may be in fundamental conflict with Russia about a lot of things (or we may not), but trade and trade barriers are not among them. The Russians are primarily interested in obtaining imports. This is notorious. They are taking everything out of Germany they can. They very obviously look on exports as a necessary sacrifice in the process of obtaining imports. And in short Russia is never going to fight with us for any foreign markets. On the other hand we are interested in exporting more and in importing less—the opposite of the Russian position. There is simply no fundamental trading conflict there. We may fight the Russians (if certain irresponsible war mongers on both sides can arrange it), but it will not be because of any fundamental trading conflict.

The second possibility involves the prospect of war at some more remote time with a country organized like ours to promote exports relative to imports. We may get into an argument over markets with such a country. Steps might be taken comparable to our placing of Germany on our black list in 1936, so that imports from Germany bore the most onerous tariff rates. We might place in effect the whole range of devices (high tariffs, quotas, embargoes, subsidies, and currency devaluation) to encourage exports and our rival might do the same. The bitterness over these measures might well be a factor leading to war, as the bitterness over similar measures was an important factor leading to war in 1939.

If trade barriers are likely to cause a future war, it will be under conditions of this sort when there are again strong countries competing with the United States for the export markets of the world. But in that "squabble" Russia would not be a principal.

The International Trade Organization is being established to deal with trade barriers—and therefore to deal with a situation in which countries use trade restrictions in a battle for export markets. Whether or

not the task has any special relevance to the likelihood of immediate war (and it does not because there is at present no country capable of competing with the United States for the export markets of the world), the International Trade Organization has an important task to perform. If successful in forcing countries to abstain from using quotas, embargoes, subsidies, etc., the International Trade Organization will have accomplished something in the great task of making more goods available more cheaply to people. But apparently no one seriously thinks that the International Trade Organization will even try to abolish tariffs. In fact so far as licenses, quotas, etc., are concerned there are innumerable exceptions allowed to the general proposition that quantitative trade barriers should be removed or sharply lowered. In view of the great number of "ifs" and "buts" in the draft of the organization charter which was approved at Geneva there is considerable doubt whether the organization has a chance to eliminate a perceptible quantity of barriers.

To cite only a few of the "ifs" and "buts":

"The Members recognize that special circumstances may justify new preferential arrangements between two or more countries . . ."

Or with regard to the tariff: "The provisions of paragraph 1 of this article shall not require the elimination, except as provided in Article 17, of any preferences in respect of import duties or charges which do not exceed the levels provided for in paragraph 3 . . ."

Or, there is the article which exempts: "preferences in force exclusively between the United States of America and the Republic of Cuba".

Or: "Screen quotas may require the exhibition of cinematograph films of national origin during a specific minimum proportion of the total screen time . . ."

And so forth, for 110 pages.

The elimination of international trade barriers is a good idea in the noble cause of producing more goods more cheaply. It would be a good idea to have an international organization such as the International Trade Organization, which would be capable of refereeing a contest in trade restrictions between the United States and a country with a comparable sort of economic system. But trade barriers are definitely not of the essence in the present dispute between the United States and Russia.

In conclusion the following comments may be made: First, if there is war with Russia, it will be necessary to look elsewhere than to trade barriers for the cause. Second, the International Trade Organization charter, as at present drafted, does not seriously curtail the use of trade barriers, and such barriers may well become weapons in trade warfare between countries with economic systems that make it natural for them to battle for export outlets.



## The New Parish-City Government of Baton Rouge

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On January 1, 1949, there will be inaugurated in Louisiana a new type of local government, the progress of which will be watched with a great deal of interest. On that date, the present parish government of East Baton Rouge parish and the municipal government of the city of Baton Rouge will give way to the new combined city-parish government that has been in the process of organization for several years. Before presenting some of the outstanding features of this new experiment, a bit of background and explanation is in order.

The present municipal government of the city of Baton Rouge was chartered in 1898. It is the usual Mayor-commission type. The parish of East Baton Rouge has the police jury system common to all parishes in Louisiana, except Orleans. The police jury powers in Louisiana are those felt necessary to govern rural areas on a local level. In the fifty years since the present city limits of Baton Rouge were fixed under its present charter, the metropolitan area has greatly outgrown its four and one-half square miles area. There are at present at least three times as many people living immediately adjacent to the city as live within its limits. Also there has grown up just north of the present city limits an extensive industrial area. This area has been partially surrounded by recently developed residential areas. The parish police jury has not had the powers adequately to provide a government or municipal facilities for these two areas outside the jurisdiction of the Baton Rouge City commission.

The changes contemplated in the new parish-city consolidation are not the results of any hasty decisions. A study was begun several years ago by a group headed by J. Theron Brown, then head of the Baton Rouge Chamber of Commerce. This group called in the firm of Bartholomew and Associates of St. Louis, who for a fee of \$45,000 drew up the physical plan. Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed, authorities on municipal government from Hartford, Conn., made an extensive study of the technical difficulties to be met. The form of city-parish government now being put into effect is the result of these surveys as modified by local experience.

The first formal legal step toward establishing the new form of government was taken by the Louisiana Legislature in its 1946 session. This consisted of the passage of Act 389 in the form of a proposed constitutional amendment. This amendment was approved by the voters of Louisiana in November 1946 and became a part of the state constitution on December 8 of that year (Constitution of Louisiana, Article XIV, Section 3(a) (As amended by Act 389 of 1946)).

This article, as amended, authorized the creation in Baton Rouge Parish of a City-Parish Charter Commission consisting of nine persons, who were

residents and qualified voters of the parish. Three of the members of this Commission were to be appointed by the Police Jury of East Baton Rouge Parish; two members were to be appointed by the Commission Council of the City of Baton Rouge; and one member was to be appointed by each of the following: East Baton Rouge Parish School Board, Baton Rouge Chamber of Commerce, Director of the Department of Public Works of the State of Louisiana, and the President of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College. This article then charged the Commission with the duty of preparing and filing with the Police Jury of the Parish of East Baton Rouge, within twelve months from December 8, 1946, a plan for the government of East Baton Rouge Parish and "the municipal corporations and other political subdivisions and districts situated therein" (Constitution of Louisiana, Article XIV, Section 3 (a)).

The article further provided, "it shall be the duty of said Police Jury to cause the full text of the proposed plan of government to be printed and published within ten days of such filing as a paid advertisement in the official Journal of the Parish. The question of the adoption of the proposed plan of government shall be submitted at a special election to be held not less than thirty days and not more than sixty days from the date of filing of the proposed plan with the police jury of the Parish of East Baton Rouge (*Ibid.*).

As directed, the City-Parish Charter Commission caused to be published the "Proposed Plan of Government" in the East Baton Rouge *Advocate* on July 2, 1947. Considerable opposition developed to the Proposed Plan of Government. This opposition was particularly strong in certain sections of the city. In the election, held as required by Act 389 of 1946, the Proposed Plan was carried by a majority of 300 out of 13,717 votes cast. Of this number of votes, 4,191 were cast in the Third Ward, with 3,200 opposed to 991 for the Plan. Three other wards of North Baton Rouge—the Fourth, Fifth, and Tenth, voted five to one against the Proposed Plan. (North Baton Rouge *Journal*, May 20, 1948).

The details of this plan to consolidate the present parish and city governments are well worth the careful study of all students of local government. The limits of space will allow an examination of the major features only.

From a physical standpoint several significant changes are provided for. The old city limits of about four and a half square miles will be extended to take in all of the metropolitan area, some nineteen square miles. The city population of 34,719 in the 1940 census will be increased by an estimated 100,000. A unique physical arrangement will be segregation of the areas in which the large industrial plants are located from the rest of the parish and city, with special provisions, to become a part of the new government. The rest of East Baton Rouge Parish will be divided into two sections, to be known as rural areas.

To administer the affairs of the combined city-parish areas the proposed plan of government creates an entirely new governing body. Instead of the 10 police jurors now elected to govern the parish and the mayor-commission that now governs the city there are created two interlocking councils, one to administer the affairs of the parish, including the city, and another to administer affairs pertaining to the city alone. One of the councils will consist of seven members elected at large from the city and will serve as a city council. The other council consists of these seven men and two others elected from the two rural areas. These nine men will act for the parish as a whole. The members of this council, nominated on August 31, 1948, were to be elected at the congressional election in November of that year for a term of four years. Ordinarily they would take office on January 1 following their election but because of the necessity for making the change over this year they were to take office immediately after the promulgation of the election returns. Their only qualification is that they be qualified voters of the parish. They will be paid fifteen dollars for each meeting of the council, not to exceed sixty dollars in any one calendar month. Vacancies occurring within one year of the end of the term of any member are to be filled by a majority vote of the remaining members of the council, otherwise by a vote of the voters of the parish. (*Proposed Plan of Government*, Chapter 2).

The chief executive officer of the city and parish will be a mayor-president who will be elected and take office at the same time as the members of the parish council. His salary for the first term beginning in 1949 will be fixed by the parish council at not less than ten nor more than fifteen thousand dollars. Thereafter it may be fixed by said council at whatever figure the council deems proper, by ordinance adopted at least one year prior to the effective date of such change. The mayor-president will have power to supervise and direct the administration of all departments, offices and agencies of the parish and city governments the heads of which he has appointed. He shall have the power to appoint and remove such officers of the city and parish as the director of finance, purchasing agent, personnel administrator, director of public works, the chief of the fire department and the chief of the police department.

It will be the duty of the mayor president to attend and preside over the councils with the right to speak but not to vote. He shall keep the councils informed on all matters pertaining to the administration of the city and parish and make recommendations to the councils. It will be his duty to prepare and submit the annual budgets to the councils and to make an annual report of the financial and administrative activities of the parish and city. A vacancy in the office of mayor-president which occurs within one year from the end of his term shall be filled by a majority vote of all members of the parish council. If the vacancy occurs more than one year from the end of his term it shall be filled by the voters at a special election.

There will be certain structural changes in the government aimed at more efficient operation. Generally, the two councils will constitute the legislative bodies of the city and parish respectively, while the mayor-president will be the executive officer of both divisions. He will supervise and control the operations of the administrative departments, and will be responsible to the councils for the proper conduct of the government.

A central purchasing department will be established, to be under the immediate direction of the mayor-president. This department will purchase, after competitive bidding, all supplies, materials, equipment, and contractual services for the use of the several departments of the city and parish.

A unified department of public works is to be established and will include divisions of engineering, street maintenance; public building maintenance; central garage to store, maintain and repair all trucks and other movable equipment; sewer maintenance; refuse collection; and a division of inspection.

The police and fire departments will be enlarged to take care of the greatly expanded metropolitan area. A unique feature of the new arrangement is that the newly created industrial area will provide its own fire and police protection.

A director of finance will head the department of finance, and will work in close relation with the office of mayor-president. The parish-city treasurer, appointed by the parish council, may at the discretion of the council also perform the duties of parish clerk. The collection of parish taxes will be done by the sheriff as is customary in Louisiana. The city council may enter into an agreement with the sheriff to have that official collect city taxes. Otherwise these taxes will be collected by the director of finances at the city's expense.

A centralized personnel system will be established for all departments, agencies and offices except the fire and police departments, which already have their own civil service. For the management and operation of the parish and city personnel system there will be a personnel director appointed by the mayor-president for an indefinite term, and a personnel board of three persons appointed by the parish council for three year overlapping terms. A rather unusual feature of this board is that one member must be a member of the classified service, appointed from a list of three, nominated by the members of such service. The other two members "shall be known to be in sympathy with the merit principle as applied to the civil service and shall not hold or be a candidate for any other public office or position." (*Proposed Plan of Government*, Chapter O, Section 9.02).

Another interesting feature of the new consolidated government is the Planning Commission, consisting of nine members. One member of this body is to be selected by and from the parish council; one will be the



mayor-president or an officer or employee of the parish or city designated by him; one member will be selected by the parish school board; one is to be designated by the director of public works of the state of Louisiana; and five members shall be qualified voters of East Baton Rouge Parish, at least three of whom shall be residents of the city of Baton Rouge, appointed by the parish council for terms of five years. It will be the duty of this commission to prepare and revise annually a program of capital improvements for the parish and city for the ensuing five years. It also must approve any ordinance regarding zoning in the city before the council may pass such zoning ordinances.

In any consolidation of two former governmental units into one there must arise questions of taxation. Some very important changes in the tax structure was necessary in the new parish-city charter plan. Under the present laws and the existing charter the city may lay a maximum of seven mills against the assessed valuation of property within the city limits. The new city limits will cover about five times the area within the old city boundaries. This additional area contains many high value properties and will mean much additional area taxes. Also at present the parish can levy only one half of its legal rate on property within the city limits. This means the parish may tax city property at the rate of two mills. Under the new plan the parish will be allowed to levy its full four mill rate on all property in the city. This means that the city property holder will be liable to pay the seven mill city tax plus a four mill parish tax. To off-set this increase in taxes for the city property owner, the city will have the use of certain revenue that formerly went to the parish only. The parish council will be required to contribute a part of its tax revenue to the city equal to three mills on the industrial assessment. In addition, certain revenues which the state shares with the parish and not the city, such as sales tax, manufacturers tax, and others, will now be shared with the city.

## A Study of Local Offenders in the Payne County Jail

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### I

During the past two decades a number of jail surveys and exposés have been made in this country. The most important of these are set forth in the Bibliography used in this paper. Taken together, these studies give an imperfect picture of jail convicts and administration. Before much focusing of public opinion is possible in this aspect of penology, many more factual surveys must contribute their bit to understanding. It is toward this end that the present study is directed.

The purpose of this investigation was to study somewhat intensively the local convict population of the Payne County Jail in Oklahoma as a type. In its broad aspects, this population is probably very similar in its characteristics to that of other county jails of Oklahoma, except in localities where non-white races are highly concentrated, or the regions urbanized.

The method of approach has been a sampling of the class of jail inmates with which this paper deals. That class was made up of persons who, previous or subsequent to commitment, were convicted of crime by the local county or district court and who spent two or more days in Payne County Jail. Since only persons convicted of crime were chosen as material for study, the people of the investigation did not include those who, after a period of jail confinement, were exonerated by local courts. Nor was the study concerned with persons confined who were wanted by other Oklahoma counties, or other states or by Federal Courts, and who in some cases would probably be exonerated by the courts before which they would subsequently be tried. This paper deals with only the guilty, so far as court convictions are evidence of guilt.

The investigation employed jail records covering a period of eighteen years and five months—January 1, 1929 to May 31, 1947—to abstract a simple census review of the class with which the study deals. It sought to discover such facts pertinent to the character of the jail population of local offenders as age, sex, race, marital status, vocational pursuits, and other characteristics. Records over the period studied are not absolutely complete, but it is safe to say that the 1,174 entries, involving 952 persons dealt with by the investigation, constituted 95 percent of the class of prisoners under consideration who were incarcerated during the period covered by the study.

### II

1. *Pleas Made by Convicts.* Perhaps most persons taken to jail for crime are guilty of the offenses with which they are charged. Of the

722 cases for which jail records show the datum, 80.5 percent plead guilty, 14.9 percent plead not guilty, and 4.6 percent changed from a plea of not guilty to one of guilty.<sup>1</sup>

2. *Sex, Race, and Age.* Local offenders committed to the jail were largely men and boys. So far as sex could be ascertained from the records, the data show that males constituted 94 percent of the persons committed to jail.

Table I reflects racial differences in jail commitments. In proportion to their numbers in the county, as indicated by the census for 1930 and 1940, Negroes were committed to jail about four to six times as frequently as were whites, and other races (chiefly Indians) were incarcerated from more than five times to more than seven times as often.

TABLE I

Commitments to Payne County Jail per 10,000 Population of Different Racial Groups.

Racial Group	Number of Commitments per 10,000 Population	
	1930	1940
Whites	9.8	10.0
Negroes	39.0	58.0
Other Races	50.0	73.0

Table II shows the relationship between age and jail commitment of local offenders. As compared with the distribution by corresponding age groups in Payne County in 1930 and 1940, the highest concentration of offenders fell in the age groups 15 to 19, 20 to 24, 25 to 29, and 30 to 34, after which the percentages of each age group declined rapidly. This is in rather close conformity with the age patterns of prison populations generally.<sup>2</sup>

3. *Vocational Pursuits.* The 854 records which state the prisoners' vocations indicate that unskilled laborers made up 41.3 percent of local offenders; skilled or semi-skilled (mostly the latter), 26.1 percent; farmers, 25.4 percent; and those with no vocation, 2.7 percent. The remaining were business proprietors, salesmen, soldiers, housekeepers, grade or high school pupils, college students, or members of professions.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The datum was omitted from the records of 230 offenders.

<sup>2</sup>Criminal statistics for the country indicate that youths of 19 years have more arrests for serious crimes against property than do those of any other age.

<sup>3</sup>"Semi-skilled occupations," as defined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, "are those for the pursuit of which only a short period, or no period, of preliminary training is necessary, and which in their pursuance call for only a moderate degree of judgment, or of manual dexterity. Unskilled occupations are considered to in-

TABLE II

Comparison of Offenders in Payne County with the General Population of Payne County by Age Groups.

Age Groups	Offenders Committed to Payne County Jail		Percent of Payne County Population in Various Age Groups	
	Number	Percent	1930	1940
Total	920*	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 15	8	0.9	33.0	27.3
15-19	172	18.7	10.3	10.5
20-24	191	20.7	9.4	9.5
25-29	123	13.4	8.0	7.9
30-34	128	13.9	7.2	7.4
35-44	146	15.9	12.2	12.8
45-54	89	9.7	8.9	10.6
55-64	55	5.9	5.9	7.1
65 and over	8	0.9	5.1	6.9

\*The records of 32 offenders failed to state age.

4. *Family Ties and Mobility.* Jail prisoners were more often single, separated, or divorced than actually married. Of those 25 years of age or older, 52.6 percent belonged in one or another of the first three classes named when committed to jail. These persons either claimed to have an ex-mate, or failed to name a wife or husband among family connections named, or stated that wife or husband lived in another community.

A majority of the offenders appear to be detached wanderers. In all, 22.5 percent failed to mention family connections or other ties within the community which they gave as their address; 56 percent were born outside the State of Oklahoma; 69.3 percent stated that their birthplace was another community than the one given as their address.

5. *Local Variations in Commitments.* A considerable difference exists between jail data of some communities and those of others. Stillwater and Cushing are types of towns with diverse histories. The growth of Stillwater has been due almost exclusively to the development of Oklahoma A. and M. College, which is located there; while Cushing has been built largely around the production and refinement of oil. Table III gives comparative statistics for the communities of Stillwater and Cushing.

clude those the workers in which usually require no special training, judgment, or manual dexterity, but supply mainly muscular strength for the performance of coarse, heavy work." (Bureau of Labor Statistics, V. 46, *Industrial and Labor Conditions*, January - June, 1938, pp. 1392-1393.)



TABLE III

Comparative Jail Commitments per 10,000 Population for Stillwater and Cushing\*.

Commitments	Stillwater		Cushing	
	1930	1940	1930	1940
All crimes	10.0	14.6	15.2	22.5
Crimes of males	9.6	13.8	13.8	20.4
Crimes of females	0.2	0.7	0.9	1.7
Liquor cases	3.4	4.7	4.1	8.4
Felonies	3.2	1.7	4.3	3.9
Crimes of recidivists	3.0	2.8	5.2	3.4
Crimes of persons born out of Oklahoma	4.3	4.4	7.5	8.4
Crimes of persons born in other Okla. communities	5.5	7.6	9.8	12.8

\*The address a person gives may or may not indicate actual residence. For example, a box holder on a rural route gives the name of a town as his residence, although he may reside several miles away. Others may claim as their own the address of a close relative or friend.

The number of persons sent to the Payne County Jail who gave a Cushing address was about one and one-third times as great relative to population in 1930 and 1940 as the number giving a Stillwater address. The proportion of liquor cases in the Cushing community during the period covered by the 1940 census was nearly double that of Stillwater. The proportion of females committed to jail over the entire period studied was considerably larger for Cushing than for Stillwater.

6. *Time Variations of the Jail Population.* During the prosperous year of 1929 the total number of persons who were in jail for two days or more was 389, or 1.05 percent of the county population of 1930.<sup>4</sup> During the depression years of 1930, 1931, and 1932, the average number of these persons was 503, or 1.36 percent of the county population of 1930. Through the recovery years of 1939, 1940, and 1941 the average yearly number was 417, or 1.16 percent of the county population of 1940. During the post-war year of 1946 and the first half of 1947 the average annual number was 203, or 0.6 percent of the county population of 1940.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup>These data were obtained from the jail book for each month and not from the prisoners' cards, since the latter were often incomplete. It was a simpler process merely to write the name of each prisoner in the jail, together with the date of incarceration and release, than to fill out a more intricate form required of sheriffs; jailers over the period under discussion kept much better records than did sheriffs.

<sup>5</sup>Many persons in a large jail population are carried over two or more months, and would, therefore, be included in the population count for more than one

This study shows little relationship between months of the year and numbers of prisoners in jail. For the period studied, March and September stand at the top of the list, with a total of 549 persons who were confined two or more days for each of these months. The smallest number of persons was in confinement during the months of June and July, which totaled over the period 423 and 408 respectively for those months.

7. *Offenses of Those Committed to Jail.* Table IV shows in percentages the distribution of local offenders by types of crime. Violations of liquor laws are by far the predominant type of legal offense. Liquor was possibly basic to a considerable number of other crimes, such as disturbing the peace, homicide, assault and battery, and rape. A comprehensive study of the jails of Virginia revealed that violations of liquor statutes were the major offenses for which White men, Negro men, and Negro women were incarcerated, and second only to sex crimes in the case of White women.<sup>6</sup>

8. *Repeaters in Crime.* According to the findings of this study, 23.5 percent of local offenders in the jail had been accused of crimes at least once previously—some of them several times; and 29.5 percent of the

TABLE IV

Distribution of Payne County Jail Commitments According to the Nature of Offenses.

Nature of Offense	Number of Offenses	Percent of Total Offenses
Total Offenses	970*	100.0
Violations of liquor laws	229	23.6
Petit Larceny	159	16.4
Grand Larceny	129	13.3
Assault and battery	84	8.6
Burglary	67	7.0
Acquisition by false pretense	40	4.1
Disturbing the peace	36	3.7
Forgery	24	2.5
Use of bogus instruments	18	1.8
Homicide	13	1.3
Rape	12	1.2
Robbery	9	0.9
All other offenses	150	15.6

\*In 204 cases the records of local offenders failed to give the nature of the offense.

month or one year. However, the total or average number for given months or years, over the entire period, as compared with corresponding data for other months or years, would have significance.

<sup>6</sup>Hoffer, Mann, and House, *The Jails of Virginia*, 1933, pp. 284.

crimes committed were offenses by these recidivists. The incompleteness of the data available likely precludes an adequate interpretation relative to this point. Wherever universal finger printing of all persons convicted in the courts has been carried out, figures have shown that recidivists and serious offenders make up from 30 percent to 40 percent of short-termers.<sup>7</sup>

There may be some correlation between liquor and recidivism, since 53.4 percent of known recidivists dealt with in this study had one or more offenses connected with liquor while liquor was connected with the one recorded crime of only 26.9 percent of offenders. It is to be borne in mind, however, that since liquor law violations are the most frequently occurring offenses, and that since recidivists are found guilty more than once, they have a greater probability of violating liquor laws than have first offenders.

9. *Teen-Age Offenders in the Jail Population.* In this study it was found that 18.9 percent of offenders were "teen-age" boys. The average number of days spent in jail by boys of various ages as compared with corresponding data for recidivists is shown in Table V. Most of these boys, though in juvenile cells, had little protection from contacts with older offenders.<sup>8</sup>

10. *Imprisonment for Indebtedness to the State.* Of the 607 misdemeanants dealt with by the study, 57 percent served time in jail because they were unable to secure bail or to pay fines and costs assessed. Their average jail tenure per person was 26 days—the same average

TABLE V

Jail-Service Tenure of Recidivists and of Teen-Age Boys.

Types of Groups	Number of Offenses	Average Days in Jail for Each Offense
Repeaters in crime	312*	30
Boys 19 years old	44	26
Boys 18 years old	39	24
Boys 17 years old	45	21
Boys 16 years old	28	16
Boys 15 years old	16	16
Boys 14 years old	4	9
Boys 13 years old	4	5

\*In the case of the repeaters the number of commitments to Payne County Jail was not identical with the number of offenders, while it was in the case of the teen-age boys.

<sup>7</sup>American Prison Association, *Proceedings*, 1936, pp. 291.

<sup>8</sup>Boys from twelve to sixteen, inclusive, are kept in the women's apartment of the jail when the latter is vacant.

tenure per person as those who were punished by jail sentences.

11. *Jail Inmates as Short-Termers.* Table VI reveals that 92 percent of the jail sentences covered by this investigation were for a duration of 30 days or less. This rapid turnover, incident to brief sentences, is basic to such major problems of jail administration as discipline, segregation, and jail employment.

TABLE VI  
Length of Jail Sentences

Length o. Sentence	Percent of Sentences
30 days	46.0
Less than 30 days	46.0
More than 30 days	8.0

12. *Pastime of Jail Inmates.* Since Payne County affords work for only a few of its jail population and these are unemployed most of the time, prison inmates must rely upon their own initiative for pastime. Their chief diversion is playing cards and dominoes or just talking among themselves. According to the jailer, only the lighter aspects of donated reading materials are appreciated by the inmates.

Sunday religious services, conducted by local church groups, do not appear to meet with cordial enthusiasm. It is said that younger inmates are more impressed by such services than older ones. Some of the latter hide out to avoid attending. Jail life would hardly seem a fertile medium for religious contemplation. An inmate boy of sixteen who was brought up in the Mohammedan faith said to the writer: "I usually pray three times a day, but I don't pray at all in this damn jail."

#### *Summary of Findings*

1. Among the local offenders committed to Payne County Jail during the period covered by this study, the following-named groups were predominant: males over females; Negroes and Indians over Whites; and persons from 15 to 34 years of age over those of other ages.

2. Most commitments involved unskilled laborers, farmers, and semi-skilled laborers, in the order named.

3. More than one-half the offenders of mature years gave evidence that they were detached wanderers.

4. The most outstanding offenses for which persons were sent to jail were violations of liquor laws, petit larceny, and grand larceny, in the order named.

5. Recidivists were responsible for nearly one-third of the crimes committed by local offenders.



6. A considerably larger percentage of recidivists were convicted of violating liquor laws than of non-recidivists.

7. A larger percentage of misdemeanants were serving time in jail because of inability to secure bail, or to pay fines and costs, than of persons sentenced to serve as punishment.

8. Slightly fewer than one-fifth of the offenders were teen-age boys.

9. Boys in their teens were usually not effectively segregated from older offenders.

10. Ninety-two percent of jail sentences given offenders were for 30 days or less.

11. No significant correlations were found between jail commitments and the months of the year. A somewhat larger percentage of persons were taken to jail during March and September, and a smaller percentage were committed during June and July than through the other months.

12. A larger percentage of persons were committed to jail during depression years than in prosperous times.

13. The year of maximum commitments was 1931, after which a rapid annual decline obtained in the numbers of those taken to jail.

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## Book Reviews

Edited by—H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

Grace L. Coyle: *Group Experience and Democratic Values*. (New York: Th Woman's Press, 1947, Pp., 180, \$2.75.)

In *Group Experience and Democratic Values*, Grace L. Coyle has produced a book which ought to be on the desk of every group worker, in fact of every social worker in the United States. It is made up of twelve chapters, every one of which is worth a second reading, if for nothing else, to remind the worker how easy it is to forget to maintain wholesome and creative attitudes, directed toward valid objectives. These chapters discuss the voluntary association in a democratic society, the president as a leader, the executive director as a leader, changing perspectives in group work, group work as a method in recreation, the process of becoming a professional worker, the function of the social settlement in the present, values of group work and social change, group work and social action, and the basic philosophy of all group work as the guiding set of principles for all group workers.

The author hews close to her main theme throughout the treatise—the contribution of group work and of group workers to democracy and to the realization of democratic values. As she sees it a great contrast between the totalitarian state and the democratic society is freedom to organize, which is just as essential “as the older right to freedom of speech and freedom of assemblage.” Her idea is that “as our society becomes more complex, as more relationships are carried on through impersonal media rather than face to face and, as neighborhoods pass away in urban settings, the right to organize and associate freely and without interference becomes the right to participate in the essential issues of our day. Only through associated effort can the individual citizen find a voice.”

The individual citizen can find a voice, however, even in organized groups, only when democratic leadership prevails in such groups. This the president, the executive director, board members of agencies, and all staff members must know. Sometimes,

With boards as at present constituted, a considerable proportion of their members is likely to be drawn from a section of the community that has little realization of the actual effects of social and economic conditions on other people. This often does not represent heartlessness or lack of public concern. It arises rather out of social isolation which inevitably affects all social groups in large impersonal communities. The provision of services for which boards plan can reinforce such isolation and coat it with the insidious pleasures of philanthropy. On the other hand, if the boards can see social causes which contribute to the need for their services they can often become ef-

fective interpreters of the need for basic changes . . . The presence on boards of representatives of labor, of appropriate nationality and racial groups, of leaders indigenous to the neighborhood not only hastens the elimination of the philanthropic and substitutes the democratic approach; it also makes more likely the assumption of a responsibility for wider social improvement.

No group work must be done in the spirit of the stooperdowner. The group worker must belong in a real sense to the group in which he acts as a leader, not as a dominator, but as one who "recognizes in group experience an opportunity for individuals to develop personally" and to learn to participate creatively in a democratic society.

Perhaps the strongest and most challenging part of the book is Part Three, which highlights "the need for social statesmanship," the role of group work in social change and in social action, and closes with the question, "Hast any philosophy in thee, shepherd?" The problems raised show that the group worker indeed needs perspective, insight, wisdom, great tact in attempts to educate the public to the idea of undertaking preventive measures, and a large amount of courage. He must have "an unalterable faith in the future of mankind, a vision of the individual potentialities of personal growth, a belief in a social order whose resources are used for the benefit of all, and a firm insistence that war must give way to international organization and a world culture." It is this kind of faith he needs to guide him as a group worker at all times.

Texas Christian University

Austin L. Poterfield

E. Merton Coulter: *The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877*. Volume VIII of *A History of the South*, edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press and The Littlefield Fund for Southern History of The University of Texas, 1948, Pp., xv, 426, \$6.00.)

With the appearance of this volume the long-projected ten-volume series of a history of the South got under way to an auspicious start. As far back as 1914 Major George W. Littlefield, C. S. A., of Austin, Texas, "established a fund at The University of Texas . . . for the collection of materials on Southern history and the publication of a 'full and impartial study of the South and its part in American history.'" All of the time since the establishing of this fund "the collection of materials on Southern history" has been faithfully looked after by the Trustees of the fund. In 1937 the Trustees definitely took up the plan of publication, but since another publication "plan had been conceived at Louisiana State University for a history of the South as a part of that institution's comprehensive program to promote interest, research and writing in the field of Southern

history," it was decided to have the two groups become joint sponsors. With the death of Professor Charles W. Ramsdell of The University of Texas in 1942 his position as joint editor with Professor Wendell Holmes Stephenson of Tulane University was given to Professor E. Merton Coulter of the University of Georgia.

In his preface the author emphasizes the fact that "the point of view set forth in this work is the *South* during Reconstruction—not *Reconstruction* in the South." All who will read must agree that he has not failed. To states-righters the following sentence by Professor Coulter will appeal. "Northerners would seize this opportunity not only to remake Southerners in the many respects that had no direct relationship to the war; they would also remake the Union by not only degrading the Southern states but in the process also depriving all states of much of their power and bestowing it upon the central government." It is hoped by this reviewer that those of the opposite political view will observe carefully to what extreme their political ancestors went to bring to "fruition . . . a growth in extremism evident in the North long before the war broke out" when reading Professor Coulter's development of this point.

Professor Coulter has found through many years of study that "no amount of revision can write away the grievous mistakes made in this abnormal period of American history," and therefore he has not attempted it. The author "has made an effort," to quote him again, "to broaden the picture of the South during Reconstruction by giving greater attention to the lives of the people, white and black, in their many interests apart from politics," and his hope is that "in these respects more than in any others (he has) . . . revised older treatments of the Southern Reconstruction period." Personally I quite agree with him that he has. He has written this volume "in the atmosphere and spirit of the times here portrayed rather than to measure the South of Reconstruction by present-day standards." To be a true historian one must, indeed, portray the people in the atmosphere and spirit of their day.

The first seven chapters portray the political and social conditions of the period; the other nine continue this portrayal but with less emphasis, and they also point out what was happening in the way of changing a once gloomy picture into one with a bright outlook. When Southerners were left alone to work out their own destiny everything worked well; when Northern emissaries and uplifters tried to shape that destiny things were different. Much to the point here and generally fitting most situations of the time was the question asked by a North Carolina Radical when another asked him why he was giving up his newspaper: "Do you think I'm a d----d fool, to print a paper for a party that can't read?" Indeed, much was undertaken to help those who couldn't understand what was happening.

The University of Texas

Rudolph L. Bieseke



Victor Purcell: *The Chinese in Malaya* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948, Pp.xvi, 327. \$6.00.)

Tiny in area and in population, Malaya is one of the most fascinating problem spots of the world. It is a jigsaw puzzle of many complex pieces, but, try as you will, they cannot be put together to form a single coherent whole. The war and the period of Japanese occupation have served only to underline its complexities and to make the pieces which must be assembled all the more disjointed and incompatible.

In *The Chinese in Malaya*, Victor Purcell, an expert of long and intimate acquaintance with his subject, has focussed on the racial group which has come to outnumber the Malays in their own homeland, but he has accompanied his main account by an adequate indication of the Malayan setting which the Chinese immigrants have found and have themselves helped to create. His book covers a wide range, reaching in time from the earliest legends and records of Chinese contact with Malaya to the troubled days of the present, and in topics from Chinese customs and religion to economics and politics. At many points the book is admittedly no more than a sketch of the vast mass of material which is available and the vistas of speculation which open up, but the author has told his story engagingly and cast useful light into obscure corners.

While the earlier portions of the book, reaching back into the past, are likely to be of interest only to the Malayan or Chinese specialist, the chapters dealing with recent developments furnish an invaluable background for an understanding of the headlines of today's disturbances in Malaya. Mr. Purcell makes it clear that the bulk of the effective resistance to the Japanese came from the Chinese guerillas for the most part under Communist leadership. Brutally and implacably pursued by the Japanese, the Chinese community came to be divided into those, often under the symbol of the Kuomintang, who were prepared to make at least a show of collaboration with the enemy and those who pressed resistance to the limit. Pre-war the relations between Chinese and Malays were at least indifferently amicable; post-war a wide gulf has opened up, deriving essentially from the period of occupation but deepened by the British efforts at constitutional reform.

In dealing with the problem of the future Mr. Purcell rightly takes his stand on the proposition that "for better or for worse Malaya has ceased for ever to be purely Malay", and that a common citizenship of all who make Malaya their home must be developed. He believes that the racial cleavages which exist in the country cannot be bridged by a Marxian appeal to the unity of the proletariat, particularly since Communism in Malaya is almost exclusively a Chinese movement. Of the need for a sense of common citizenship, fundamentally independent of race, there can be no doubt. To inculcate such a sense will require statesmanship of the very highest order.

Harvard University

Rupert Emerson

T. Lynn Smith: *Population Analysis*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1948, Pp. 421. \$4.50.)

In the first paragraph of the preface, the author states, "This book is an introduction to demography, the scientific study of population. In it I have attempted to summarize what is known about the subject of population and to describe the methods and techniques by which that knowledge has been attained. The volume is therefore concerned with sources of data and methodology fully as much as with known facts about, and relationships among, demographic phenomena."

The author sticks with verifiable knowledge, appraises available data pointing out their reliability and shortcomings, and he avoids theoretical, historical, and controversial aspects of the study of population. Concern with *optimum population* is dismissed in three paragraphs as of "dubious validity and slight utility." Population growth is covered quantitatively without reference to economic resources. Malthus is not mentioned, and naturalistic and economic theories concerning population growth are intentionally slighted. He states that his avoidance of concern about the problem and the pathological aspects of population is deliberate. His rationalization of this point of view is that the United States is in no immediate danger of overpopulation and he emphasizes the need and demand for analysis of the normal functioning of population. The further, more general and dubious statement that "mankind is not at the cross-roads from the demographic standpoint" is irrelevant since the data are largely limited to the United States.

The organization and subject matter content of the book were anticipated by the author in the demography section of an earlier work, *The Sociology of Rural Life*. The five main subject matter divisions are (1) number and distribution of the population, (2) composition, containing two chapters not commonly included in demographic study—education status and religious composition, (3) vital processes, (4) migration, and (5) growth of population. Also included is an addendum of recommended readings and questions for the convenience of student and teacher. In the preface, at the beginning of each chapter, and in the conclusion he reveals the rationale for the particular methodology and organization followed and the subject content selected.

The book is not only a valuable summary and synthesis of substantiated knowledge in the field of demography but it is a considerable contribution to research. Many of the 1940 data which have much prominence in the book had not been previously tabulated. The indications of relationships were sharpened by graphic techniques many of which were invented or extended by the author and his associates. For example his index numbers for age composition as shown by graph lines supplement population pyramids and bring out much more incisively differences between population groups. The multiple-purpose statistical maps not only

have the value of indicating the nature of the relationships among the several variables shown but also very practically reduce the number of cuts required to present adequately the data.

The writing is lucid and direct. The author well accomplishes the expressed attempt to "treat the subjects in language that can be readily understood by the advanced undergraduate in college or university." The book seems well suited to text use for a course in demography at this level.

University of Arkansas

J. L. Charlton

James Allan Cook: *The Marketing of Surplus War Property*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1948, Pp. V, 211. \$3.25.)

Mr. Cook has made a very straight forward and factual presentation of the problems confronting our government in disposing of over \$28 billions of surplus war products but he has not—nor did he probably mean to—covered up the terrible failure this program has been.

In fact he directly cites a report to the House of Representatives in 1946 that actually anticipated that "the program will end up showing a net loss." General Robert M. Littlejohn, head of the WAA for a short time during the same year stated: "To date our disposal of this property has been unsatisfactory . . . A great many employees of the WAA do not understand that this is a temporary emergency job . . ."

This still would not have been intolerable except that Mr. Cook traces two steps in the formation of our selling scheme that should have taken some of the errors out. They are a complete report on the problems and failures of the government to sell war surplus following World War I. The other was an attempt to carefully plan the program as early as 1943. By February 1944, Bernard Baruch and John M. Hancock had drawn up a list of the guiding principles based on the above named report that ought to have been followed by the WAA. Suffice it to say, Mr. Cook shows carefully many of the carefully enunciated policies were never considered, or if they were, much too late.

But this work is not a round denunciation of the failure to sell judicially, if at all, but the author very kindly has attempted to show in many instances why the failure was not necessarily that of the WAA. A great obstacle to selling was the insistence by Congress that nothing be done that would impair business—big or small; that all sales must be made with an eye to their immediate and future effect on the total national economy.

The author also capitalizes on the fact that the WAA was looking for prime workmen, sellers, etc., in a market that was very low in top-notch men. Furthermore, many good men who were attracted to this work refused to stay as soon as they saw most of their efforts were

going for naught. A long list of men "at the top" is included in this work which shows their tenure to be short and shaky. Many of these changes were made at extremely crucial moments thus causing the loss of many months of actual movement of the surpluses.

In addition the WAA never knew when certain surpluses were to be allotted or opened to them. Many of these releases were in unfavorable seasons and otherwise poorly timed.

The surpluses moved especially slowly at the first. For example, in 1945 and 1946 the WAA "acquired" \$10 billion worth of surplus but sold only \$1 billion. In the first three years (up to January 1947) the WAA estimated an inventory of \$40 billion but only 30 percent of their total properties at that time had been liquidated.

It is difficult to determine just where the WAA was most at fault from this work, but several of the worst deals were enumerated. For example, in spite of a shortage in that commodity, the Army Air Forces attempted to sell 500 tons of brass and steel screws as salvage. In another incident, \$200,000 worth of dry cell batteries at Ogden, Utah, were sold for \$125 and were immediately resold by this "citizen" to other dealers for \$30,000.

Mr. Cook has carefully detailed the succession of boards and men who made up these boards as they attempted to grapple with the situation. He has many charts and graphs well worth careful consideration. The book is well documented and is a reservoir of information on this topic. The style is lucid and is as free of his personal prejudices, as work of this nature could be expected to be. That is, there is no projection of the author into many of the controversial issues. He does not strenuously defend and rarely severely attacks. It is a good piece of factual writing in a pleasing style.

University of Tulsa  
Will Rogers H. S., Tulsa

Karl E. Ashburn  
George Kubit

Edward N. Saveth: *American Historians and European Immigrants, 1875-1925*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948, Pp., 244. \$3.00.)

This title is a drab and uninspiring misnomer for a brilliant and zestful book. It does indicate, however, the book's nature as historiography. Here Mr. Saveth treats of the varying views held by the greatest of American historians toward European immigrants and their effect on America. Starting with a brief and able exposition of the old theory of Teutonic origins, Saveth proceeds to outline the positions of those historians who espoused this theory—E. A. Freeman, Herbert Baxter Adams, John Fiske, John W. Burgess and Henry Cabot Lodge. From a discussion of the Teutonic theorists, the author continues with the similar views held by Henry Adams, who could not accept the Teutonic theory as convincing proof



of the pre-eminence of the Germanic peoples. Says Saveth (p. 65): "As Professor of Medieval History at Harvard, Henry Adams, unlike Herbert Baxter Adams, was not interested exclusively in Germanic origins, but rather in 'fixing the share' of Germanic influences in forming the Common Law." Henry Adams had, too, an inordinate antipathy toward Jews, and this colored much of his writing, particularly his personal correspondence.

From Adams' somewhat extreme racial views Saveth passes on to the Social Darwinist camp, outlining the basic points of Social Darwinism, and noting (p. 90) that "Charles Francis Adams . . . insisted that publication of the *Origin of Species* marked a new epoch in the study of history." In this section Saveth considers the position held by Nathaniel Southgate Shaler, who made the first "significant attempt at a geographic interpretation of American history," and Hubert Howe Bancroft who held a teleological idea of the world's history, believing that it was moving toward a goal, "culminating in the civilization of the native Californian." (p. 96)

From the approach of the Social Darwinist Saveth then pays his respects to the heroic historian, typified in the writings of Francis Parkman, and to the moderate racial views of Theodore Roosevelt, moving on to a consideration of Frederick Jackson Turner and his frontier thesis.

In other sections of the book Saveth considers the views on immigration held by the political historians, led by such men as Hermann Von Holst, James Schouler and James Ford Rhodes. He considers the approach of John McMaster, who chose to write a *History of the People of the United States* rather than a political history. Although taking a more composite view of the social matrix, Saveth asserts (p. 180) McMaster did not greatly "modify the Anglo-Saxonism of his predecessors and contemporaries," considering the mid-nineteenth century immigrant inferior to the early settler. In this section of the book, which is titled "The immigrant and American Society," Saveth also treats the stand taken by Ellis Oberholtzer, characterized by him (p. 191) as a writer of a "*Tendenzwerk*" and as less an historian than "vendor of his own views." Oberholtzer's view, he thinks, is cold toward immigrants and tends to relegate them to the status of "ignorant rabble." Saveth then introduces Edward Channing and H. L. Osgood as belonging to the group of dissenters from the Teutonic hypothesis, averring that they had a "basically sound approach" to the immigration problem.

Saveth's final chapter—"Toward a Corrective Viewpoint"—discusses the evils of the extreme of ancestor worship (filiopietism) indulged by some ethnic historians. He is quick, however, to admit that the individual historian's own orientation may be an extenuating circumstance, and is equally quick to admit that some of the plethora of filiopious literature has done much to further the cause of immigrant history. He ends on the note that the historian of immigration is in a commanding position

with regard to his profession, since he has superior opportunity to keep abreast of the latest developments in other fields of social science. "Because of the nature of the materials with which he deals," writes Saveth (p. 223), the historian of immigration "has a particularly good opportunity to contribute to the advancement of his profession."

Throughout the whole of the book Mr. Saveth's clarity of style and obvious command of his particular subject, as well as philosophy, impressed this reviewer. This book is erudite, well written and interesting.

The University of Texas

Frank E. Vandiver

Arnold Rose: *The Negro in America*. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948, Pp., xvii, 325. \$3.75.)

The study, *An American Dilemma*, by Gunnar Myrdal was made possible by the Carnegie Corporation in order to reach a sound understanding of Negro-white relationships in this country. In spite of the bulky nature of the 1500 page, two volume work, it achieved widespread reception. However, there was a simultaneous growing demand for an "easily, accessible short text which should ensure it the widest possible circulation." Hence Professor Arnold Rose has edited *The Negro in America*, which is a condensed version of *An American Dilemma*.

The original work contains 45 chapters. In the new version there are only 19 chapters. The reduction of the discussion of each main idea, however, has been in proportion to the space allotted in the original work. For example, we note that a fifth of the original text by Myrdal is contained in the fourth part which deals with economics. In Rose's version, some 22 per cent of the reading is also devoted to the economic aspects of the Negro problem.

Tables, graphs, and maps have been omitted in Rose's version except for a map on p. 62, a table on p. 85, and a diagram on p. 227. However, since graphs present facts symbolically and make facts vivid and clear, and since this book is for the general reader, it would seem then that graphical materials would have been feasible in the new version.

The main parts of Myrdal's work are arranged so that the sections can be read independently. Myrdal realized that some readers could not "afford the time or energy to read it all." However, this arrangement involved considerable repetition of facts and main viewpoints. The brevity of *The Negro in America* makes unnecessary this type of repetition.

These various types of omissions from the original work do not destroy the central thesis, the fundamental facts and interpretation of facts, nor the basic plan of organization. In the Foreword of the condensed version, Myrdal commends Rose for providing "in a palatable form, the gist of the knowledge and thought" of the larger work.

As we set out to investigate the subject matter, the first point of interest is the definition of the Negro problem. The approach that is employed in Myrdal's work and in *The Negro in America* is classed as one of the conflict theories of social pathology and is allied with Ogburn's theory of cultural lag. The theory developed is that the "Negro is a 'problem' to the average American because of a conflict between the place awarded him in society and those ideals included in the American creed." (p. 8) It is as a moral issue that the Negro problem presents itself in the daily life of ordinary people. The economic, social and political race relations are secondary in importance in this study. And the essence of the moral situation is that the conflicting values are held also by the same person. For those who deviate from this thinking, reference is made to Oliver Cox's *Caste, Class and Race*. Cox claims that Myrdal is a "confirmed moralist." (p. 537) And he does not agree that the dilemma which is presented is peculiarly American. Moreover, Kimball Young in a review of Myrdal's work (ASR: June 1944) classifies this conflict as "but a phase of the large dichotomy between our idealistic morality and the intense aggressions found in our competitive individualism."

The author treats seven aspects of the Negro problem: population trends, the economic phase, political factors and practices, administration of justice, the question of social equality, leadership and concerted action, and the Negro community.

The historical developments of the aspects of the problem are presented only as they make clear existing situations and policies and only as they make possible statements of general trends. The historical method is perhaps employed most extensively in the discussion of the economic aspects of the Negro problem. The theory of "the vicious circle" is also applied extensively in this section of the work.

In treating the social relations of whites and Negroes the study develops the caste hypothesis of race relations. With respect to the social, economic, and other relations the study emphasizes the varying forms of race relations in both North and South. At any rate, few Americans are unaware of the problem. Frazier, however, in a book review of Myrdal's work (AJS: May 1945) questions "whether the problem is on the conscience of white people to the extent implied."

Rose points out that changes for good or evil depend primarily on changes in people's beliefs and values." (p. 312) And the attitude of refusing to consider amalgamation is considered the complex center of the Negro problem. (p. 23)

This study illustrates that Negro culture shows similarity to American white culture. "Some peculiarities can be characterized as 'exaggerations' of American traits." Moreover, in practically all its differences such as high crime rates, superstition, etc., American Negro culture is a distorted development of American culture, as created by caste pressures for the most part.

The principal virtue of this edition lies in its brevity. But in a sense Rose's work is more than just a condensation. Additions include contemporary facts, trends, and policies. Hence, the content of the original work is brought up to date. This is especially seen in the sections on the economic aspects of the Negro problem. Moreover, the last chapter employs "the American to an American" approach.

In *The Negro in America* Rose has reduced the wealth of material presented in *An American Dilemma* into a stimulating condensed version. The original evaluation of the Negro problem is one of the outstanding novelties in the area of race relations. The condensed version is an outstanding contribution to the general American reader who is anxious to know the Negro and to understand Negro-white relationships.

Tillotson College

Wilhelmina E. Perry

*The Jurisprudence of Interests.* Selected writings of Max Rumelin, Heinrich Stoll, Philipp Heck, Julius Binder, Paul Oertmann, Hermann Isay; Introduction by L. L. Fuller and Translation by M. M. Schoch. (Vol. II, *The Twentieth Century Legal Philosophy Series.*) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948, Pp., 328. \$5.00.)

*Latin-American Legal Philosophy.* Selected writings of L. R. Siches, C. Cossio, J. Llambias de Azevedo and E. G. Maynez. Introduction by J. L. Kunz, and Translations by M. R. Konvitz, M. A. de Capriles, Gordon Ireland, and J. R. Hayzus. (Vol. III, *The Twentieth Century Legal Philosophy Series.*) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948, Pp., 557. \$6.00.)

These works represent volumes II and III of *The Twentieth Century Legal Philosophy Series*, published under the auspices of the Association of American Law Schools. This project is a continuation of the *Modern Legal Philosophy Series*, now unfortunately out of print, which did so much to stimulate an interest among Americans in the thought and contributions of the European Legal Philosophers of the early part of the century. The new series, in continuing the tradition of the old, is again instrumental in removing the barrier of language and in making accessible to American lawyers and students the rich treasures of contemporary European and South-American legal speculation. For these reasons, if for no others, the series justifies itself and deserves a high place in the ranks of current scholarly publications.

Volume II, *The Jurisprudence of Interests*, consists of selections from the writings of six German scholars of the *Interessenjurisprudenz* school. This work, more than the one on *Latin American Legal Philosophy*, strikes a responsive cord in the American scholar's mind, and at the same time moves from the field of legal theory into the domain of political phil-



osophy and practical government. The writers represented are in rebellion against the conceptualist school and are attempting to formulate a new approach to the technique of adjudication. This problem is already familiar to Americans who can trace its development in this country from the pragmatism of James through the concepts of Pound and his present day followers. The selections offered in translation add to own knowledge by the introduction of an analysis of the problem of "judicial method" from the perspective of practitioners of the civil law. Appealing, however, as the formula of "Interests" may seem, history has taught us its limitations by giving us an example of its *reductio ad absurdum* in the "interest" dominated jurisprudence of the Hitler regime. Nevertheless the problem of adjudication still remains and perhaps its solution is to be found in relating the "jurisprudence of interests" as a *method* to an objective conceptualist basis, thereby safe-guarding us from complete judicial uncertainty.

The third volume of the series, *Latin American Legal Philosophy*, comprises selections from four contemporary legal theorists of South America. The striking feature of all these writers is their common intellectual indebtedness to the legal concepts of Hans Kelsen. Kelsen is the point of departure for all of them, yet each author feels free to criticize, amend, and augment the master. Hence we do not have a simple restatement of the "pure theory of law" but rather its assumption and then almost immediate modification or expansion. Of interest to sociologists and philosophers is the manifest influence of Hartmann, Heidegger and Ortega y Gasset upon our neighbors to the South. Space does not allow even a summation of the views of the writers whose works are selected in this volume. Each, however, offers his own contribution and his own point of view. Siches, whose *Human Life, Society and Law* comprises about two thirds of the book, presents his almost Platonic concept of objective justice plus his equally intense individualism; Cossio gives us his explanation of the pure theory of law, significantly modified by his recognition of the importance of the "decision" in legal development; Llambias de Azevedo offers a reasoned attack upon "compulsion" as an essential element in law plus a linking up of law and "value"; Maynez, by his return to an almost medieval point of view, distinguishes between "just" and "unjust" law on the basis of an objective value standard. Through all these writers there runs a strong current of "value" as an important element in determining the law and here perhaps they represent their greatest departure from the strict Kelson normative school.

Both these volumes have a common characteristic; they are "horizon openers" to the American lawyer, philosopher, and sociologist. Excellent introductions and commendable translations attempt to smooth the reader's way but the going is still hard. Compensation, however, in the form of a fuller appreciation of the complexity of legal philosophy and its interrelation to sociology and philosophy in general, awaits the reader

who pursues his task to completion. Intellectual interpollination of this kind can contribute not only to the breadth of individual knowledge but also to the greater goal of international cooperation based upon an understanding and appreciation of the philosophy and method of foreign scholars and practitioners of the legal art.

The University of Texas

H. Malcolm Macdonald

Gordon Wright: *The Reshaping of French Democracy*. (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1948, Pp., x, 277. \$3.50.)

Professor Wright, building on his war time experiences in Paris in the service of the Department of State, has written a graphic and illuminating account of the evolution of the constitution of the Fourth French Republic. He swiftly analyses the characteristics of the unlamented Third Republic, and thereafter traces the development of the constitutional ideas of various sections of the resistance movement during the Vichy period. The activities of the provisional French government under the presidency of General de Gaulle are described, lending a necessary background to the story of the selection of the first Constituent Assembly. The author discusses in considerable detail that first abortive effort of constitution making. Next he studies the relatively minor changes wrought by the second Constituent Assembly, leading to the constitution accepted by a majority of these voting but by no means supported by a majority of the voting population. He describes the first stages in the setting up of the Fourth Republic under its new constitution, underlining the crucial political and economic problems which faced the authors of the constitution, and those who tried to operate the new governmental machine.

A review which merely listed the events treated by Professor Wright would be inaccurate. The author's trenchant descriptions capture much of the spirit of French life. Scattered through the historical material are illuminating aphorisms, and pithy character sketches. The reader comes away from this book feeling that he understands better the current troubles of the French government, troubles which stem from the hostility of the parties of the Left and the Right to the governmental structure itself; in turn the partisan strife is based on deep social and economic cleavages. The author shows the role of Charles de Gaulle at first as symbol of renascent France, and later as one who took part in the rough and tumble of French politics under the assumption that he remained the lucent symbol of unity.

As is infrequently true, your reviewer agrees with the evaluation of this book on its dust jacket; in its words, the volume is "required reading" for those who wish to know more profoundly the background of present French political problems.

University of Illinois

Edward G. Lewis

Alice Marriott: *María, The Potter of San Ildefonso*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1948, Pp., 294. \$3.75.)

In this day when warmer race relations are essential to world peace, and when such relations must be based on the firm foundation of understanding people, *María, the Potter of San Ildefonso* should be read by one and all. Alice Marriott, the author, employs the simplest English, in fact, the very words and phrases of the Indians, to create a picture of a personality of which any race might well be proud. A full-blooded Tewa Indian, María lives an abundant life, meeting sorrow and joy alike, with a dignity few human beings acquire.

Miss Marriott weaves the personal life of María into a rich background of the events in the history of the Pueblo itself. Then she spices this wealth of ethnological background with incidents which make people in books draw the breath of life—how two small children, María and her sister Desidéria, sat silently in their playhouse for an entire morning, each stubbornly sure the other should pay the first visit. It took Ana, another sister posing as a Navajo visitor, to break the ice.—Or the tiny trader María, selling her mother's cheeses to the other villagers.—Throughout all life, the strict obedience to parental discipline—and against this background of the puebloid pattern, a warmly human little heart beats double time when María sees a lovely old hand-painted chest in the house of a Spanish friend of the family.

Pages of ethnological data have been compiled to explain "pueblo", but none has so realistically succeeded as in these simple statements about María: "To María, being away from home was being away from part of life that was bigger and more important than herself. She needed to feel the pueblo around her to feel that she was safely alive". And, when her fellow potters asked María to help them make and sell their wares as she did, she replied that "pottery making belongs to everybody—Pottery making belongs to the pueblo". Unspoiled by world renown and wealth, always does María reflect the true meaning of "Pueblo".

Mrs. Marriott bemoans a lack of certain ethnological data in her pages, particularly in religious and political organization. These are "masculine" subjects, subjects not discussed by María. But Mrs. Marriott presents many points lacking in the most erudite and critical of ethnological studies, for she makes it possible for the reader to understand the personalities of the pueblo. Whatever the organization is in San Ildefonso, it can be but a mirrored reflection of the people. She lacks the details of change in dance customs in the Pueblo, but she informs her reader that "having the men gone was bad because it made a difference in the ceremonies." And the men were gone because agriculture was affected by erosion as a result of the cutting of trees by white men in the mountains above the village. As they sought jobs elsewhere, the men started drink-

ing, for they were away from the protecting cloak of the mores of everyday pueblo life. Thus was village organization affected.

Unquestionably, one of the most interesting problems treated in this *María* volume has to do with the development of certain types of pottery which have become world famous. About 1908 some white men visited San Ildefonso and became interested in the pottery María was making—"she just makes it plain to cook with", her husband Julián explained. When it was suggested that María and the other women of the pueblo should make pottery to sell, Julián added, "Nobody wants to buy it—Just Indians buys Indian pottery from each other".

But later on, an archaeologist encouraged María with a fragment of fine prehistoric ware. She "let the thought of the potsherd ripen slowly in her mind". Then she produced an excellent vessel far superior to the usual wares "to cook with". An accident in firing resulted in a black surfaced jar. Not knowing just how it happened, it took Julián many hours of uninterrupted contemplation to figure how to intentionally produce the black ware. Another accident resulted in the "invention" of the famous black-on-black ware. One day Julián came in weary from the farm labor he did not like, took up the yucca brush he did like and painted a design on one of María's polished pots which was to have been all black. "I guess I just wanted to paint a design. Do you mind?" he asked his wife. Hardly, for this ware, quite justly for its high artistic merit, made them world famous.

When one has finished the book *María*, one feels that he is witnessing the passage of some of the best traditions of native America. María bridges the gap between the well established old order and the insecure new generation. She herself carries on the best of the past. Through her and some of her contemporaries, one sees the delightful and often subtle humor of these native folk, the tremendous and over-whelming respect of the younger members of the group for the opinions of the older ones, the harmony between generations.

In the death of Julián there is, perhaps, a final glimpse into the old order. "María did not want to cry": her pueblid philosophy of life sustained her in this last crisis. "There were no tears in her for Julián. They had been together and had worked together for a long time. Now there was an ending. All things in life changed and ended in their own times - -".

University of Arizona

Clara Lee Tanner

Leonard D. White: *The Federalists: A Study in Administrative History*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948, Pp., 538. \$6.00.)

The author of this new book, Professor Leonard D. White of the University of Chicago, states that it "begins a systematic study of American ideas about public administration." His principal interest is "to ex-



plore the origin and growth of the opinions that Americans now possess about public management." Although there is no further statement concerning future plans, it seems reasonable to infer that this study is intended to be the first of a series.

The present volume is concerned with public administration at the national level during the formative years of the new government under the Federal Constitution. It was during these years—1789 to 1801—that responsibility for management of the public business was vested in the group of men known as Federalists. The author points out, however, that he does not mean to imply that another group—Jeffersonian Republicans—had no ideas about public administration or made no contributions to it. "It was nevertheless the Federalists who manned the ship of state and whose views about administration prevailed during these important twelve years."

Professor White is admirably fitted for the task of reporting and pointing up early problems and ideas in American public administration for their relevance today. He has deliberately sought to do just this. In fact about half of the forty chapter titles could be inserted without change into a discussion of the present period. The following are illustrative: Chapter II, " 'An Efficient and Responsible Chief Executive' "; Chapter XVII, "Internal Departmental Control"; Chapter XXVI, "Appropriations; Executive Freedom or Legislative Restraint"; Chapter XXXI "Federal-State Administrative Relations"; and Chapter XXXV, "Administrative Discretion".

Several chapters deal with the administrative departments and offices created by the Congress during these years; another group has as a central theme the problems of personnel; and several other chapters take up the problems of financial administration. The Hamilton-Jefferson feud is allotted a chapter and immediately following is a discussion of the Hamilton-Adams conflict. Character sketches of the leading figures involved in the working out of administrative arrangements are incorporated in the narrative. All in all, it is a volume of varied content, yet put together in such manner as to depict the philosophy of management which emerged under the Federalists. And in the manner of a contrasting melody, there runs the theme of Republican ideas about management.

Professor White's book should find a ready welcome on the part of students of public administration; and others in related fields will certainly find it illuminating. For the most part, our knowledge concerning the development of American ideas about public management has been taken from the historian, from historical studies in special fields of public administration — such as personnel — and from a variety of local and special essays and studies. A systematic study such as is here begun is a real contribution to the literature of public administration.

The University of Texas

Wilfred D. Webb

Frank J. Bruno: *Trends in Social Work: As Reflected in the Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1874-1946*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948, Pp., xvi, 387, \$4.50.)

There is much to commend this book to other than professional social workers alone. It is, as the subtitle reveals, more of a historical survey than it is an analysis of present emphases in social work or a scanning of probable directions in which the institution might move.

While at first glance it might appear that the book would be severely limited by being confined to a survey of papers presented at the National Conference of Social Work during its past seventy-five years, it soon becomes apparent that the author is writing against a broad background of knowledge which he doesn't hesitate to use. In fact, among the chief items of interest to this reader were the frequent critical comments or amplifying explanations which Dr. Bruno makes as he traces developments in the field. One gains the impression both of farsighted pioneering on the part of a few leaders in the social work field and of a considerable lag on the part of many of its members in keeping up with contemporary problems. Dr. Bruno cites a number of failures on the part of the National Conference to reflect, explicitly at least, significant social occurrences including some of the more or less acute crises through which the larger society of which it was a part was passing. This condition is hardly unique, however, among professional groups. Among other things, the author points up the marked differences between the research emphasis of the social scientist and the concern of the social work practitioner with immediate, pressing problems. He deplores this but observes that the two interests are rarely combined in the same person. By inference at least one conclusion is that most papers presented at the National Conference lack a rigorously scientific base.

The original purpose of the National Conference appears to have been to serve as a clearing house for ideas for the various state boards of charities and corrections — some supervisory and some administrative — which were rapidly coming into existence at the time. After tracing the interests of these groups through the first twenty-five years or so of National Conference sessions, Dr. Bruno picks up the story at the turn of the century with an account of the relation between the universities and the emerging profession. The third period into which he divides the story begins in 1924 and continues through 1946.

It is difficult to list accurately the wide range of interests which have occupied members of the National Conference. The task of reading over all the papers published in the *Proceedings* and of putting some kind of order into the whole procession must have presented a large problem to the author. He gives no indication however either in his style—which is concise and very readable—or in the organization of his topics of having been overwhelmed by the assignment given him by the Executive

Committee of the National Conference in the spring of 1946. It seems safe to say that only a person with a very wide acquaintance in the field could have attempted a job such as this one. In view of the nature of the task it is not surprising that several of Dr. Bruno's own opinions get themselves injected into the account. He comments personally on matters ranging from deficiencies in the "poor laws" and in social insurance in the United States to what he considers to be dangers in the development of social casework theory and training. While the book is unencumbered by excessive documentations, there are a number of citations to specific Conference papers.

Whether by intention or not, Dr. Bruno makes no reference to any interest the National Conference may have had up to 1946 in the problems of international relief and reconstruction which were looming large on the horizon. Other matters such as Conference interest in the problems of alcoholism or the development of philanthropic foundations are mentioned but left to other social historians to trace out.

The final chapter offers an analysis of the regional and occupational backgrounds of Conference presidents and some other summary findings that afford some further insight into the nature and history of the National Conference of Social Work and the growing constellation (forty-five in 1946) of organizations, associations, and conferences that revolve satellite-like about it. To this reviewer's knowledge no previous book in the field of social work gives quite so comprehensive or so discerning and readable a review of developments in an important segment of social life. Having read it, one becomes aware of the large gaps in the story of American life that have been left by our professional historians.

Southern Methodist University

Allan W. Eister

Basil Rauch: *American Interest in Cuba: 1848-1855*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948, Pp., 323. \$3.75.)

Basil Rauch, author of a two volume study of the New Deal, has now written an extremely readable treatise throwing new light on the movement for the annexation of Cuba in the period prior to the Civil War. It is based on a careful study of the diplomatic correspondence in the Department of State Archives, the John A. Quitman papers, Senate and House Executive Documents, and contemporary periodicals.

According to the author, American interest in Cuba originated in the relationships created by geography and economic, social, and political institutions. But the movement to intervene in Cuba, break the ties with Spain, and annex the "pearl of the Antilles" did not reach maturity until the Polk administration. Then it became not a national movement but a sectional one in which the South and shipping interests in New York furnished the only support. At this time the interest in Cuba developed

into a pro-slavery conspiracy to add slave territory in order to preserve the balance in the union. It was motivated in part by the South's fear of Cuba becoming not only a free territory but a republic ruled by negroes.

As evidence of Southern determination to annex Cuba the author cites the interest in the filibustering expeditions of the 1850's and especially the support given to these by leading political personages in the South. So strong was the feeling in the South that federal officers dared not interfere. Editors likewise championed the cause of Cuba. The story of the filibustering expeditions is told in a detailed and interesting fashion.

Rauch finds that the high flown phrases advanced in favor of Cuban annexation were by no means unconscious rationalizations. Here he differs from the views set forth by A. K. Weinberg in his book *Manifest Destiny*. The author suggests that John L. O'Sullivan, editor of the New York *Morning News* and coiner of the phrase "manifest destiny," paraded under the guise of being a "barnburner" and a free soiler in order to advance the cause of Cuban annexation. He writes:

The phrase Manifest Destiny was a first attempt to obscure in a cloud of fatalistic and fanatical emotionalism the sectional issues raised by expansion of slavery territory. Yet it was not enough, and in 1852, as will appear, a flat identification of slavery expansion with democratic idealism was asserted by O'Sullivan and the "Young Americans." The Jacksonian passion to "extend the area of freedom" and the enthusiasm for the revolutions of 1848 in Europe were harnessed to the program for slavery extension. O'Sullivan understood the semantic value of slogans with favorable connotations, and he exploited his talent in the cause of slavery.

The Young America movement of 1852 illustrates the attempt to place the Cuban question on liberal grounds and thereby overcome the opposition of the North.

The author, a former student of Allan Nevins and now his colleague, does not agree with some of the conclusions expressed in *Ordeal of the Union*. Rauch thinks that the Pierce administration gave positive approval of the filibuster expedition planned by Quitman in 1853. Nevins concludes that Secretary of State Marcy took stern measures to stop it because a filibuster expedition would upset his hopes for peaceably "detaching" Cuba. Likewise, while Allan Nevins states that Pierre Soule exceeded his instructions in calling for the freeing of Cuba by force in the Ostend Manifesto if Spain should refuse to sell, Rauch thinks that Soule acted within Marcy's instructions and was only repudiated when the results of the election of 1854 indicated strong disapproval of the pro-slavery program of the Democrats.

Rauch is severely critical of Stephen Douglas. While he does not go as far as did James Ford Rhodes in his condemnation of the Illinois senator,



he states that "The moral obtuseness of the appeaser but not the plot of a friend of slavery is discernible in his policy." Douglas' willingness to annex Cuba and to let the islanders decide the question of slavery Rauch terms "a specious kind of moral neutrality on slavery." To Rauch, as to the abolitionists, slavery was a moral question, and the attempts to solve the problem within the framework of democratic processes was not statesmanship but political opportunism. The story of Cuba, he holds, shows the unlimited aims of the South and with these there could be no compromise.

The Ohio State University

Paul A. Varg

Carleton S. Coon: *A Reader in General Anthropology*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1948, Pp., 624. \$5.00.)

The appearance of this volume fills a long felt need for the teachers of anthropology. The idea of compiling a reader in anthropology forced itself on Dr. Coon, as he states, because of the great increase in the number of students and the lack of sufficient supplementary reading in libraries. Consequently, a reader such as this, with an adequate sampling of world cultures, will prove of great value to the teacher and student.

Dr. Coon's book is so organized that the instructor can utilize the selections to give the student a more clear-cut comparison of societies and cultures throughout the world. The selections are so arranged as to present cultures of different levels of complexity. Pointing out the well known fact that cultures cannot be compared qualitatively, Dr. Coon maintains that we must compare them on a quantitative basis. Thus, the quantitative differences between cultures allows us to rate them as to degree of complexity.

Dr. Coon has set up seven different levels of complexity. Level zero gives us a picture of the social life of the great apes. This is done to indicate the biological basis of human behavior. Level one deals with cultures which have simple family bands as the basic social unit (Great Basin groups, Indians of Tierra del Fuego, the Lapps, and Eskimo). Level two cultures have multiple family bands as the social unit (Andaman Islanders and the Arunta of Australia). Level three consists of cultures with sufficient complexity to permit the rise of specialists and multiple institutions (Kurnai of Australia, Northern Maidü of California, Trobrianders, and Pygmies of the Ituri forest). Level four is that stage of complexity wherein the number of institutions per individual increases and hierarchies begin (Mano of Liberia and Ruwalla Bedawin). Level five is characterized by hierarchies and compound institutions (Vikings, Aztecs, India in the seventh century, and a village in present day India). Level five is described as one complex political institution (Aristotle's *The Athenian Constitution*, Albert Neuberger's account of the technical skills

of the Romans, and extracts from Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.)

The result of such a selection is to give the student a broad range of experience with other cultures. This is enhanced by the fact that in every case Dr. Coon has attempted to present first hand accounts, thus enabling the student to make his own interpretations of the data. Throughout Dr. Coon interpolates explanatory notes for anthropological terms and cultural relationships. This material is kept succinct and at a minimum so as to allow the individual instructor freedom of interpretation.

In a fifty one page appendix Dr. Coon explains his scheme of rating cultures quantitatively. Dr. Coon first works out a common denominator of human behavior by listing all the activities have in common with lower animals. Once he has this list, tentatively it totals fifteen, Dr. Coon proceeds to rank cultures and societies according to the amount of energy expended in these activities. Dr. Coon's concept of energy expenditure applies to all activities in which humans ordinarily take part. Thus, the size of the group will largely determine the amount of energy used in these activities. However, the size of the group is not the only factor which determines the complexity of culture. Dr. Coon emphasizes the importance of environment for cultures of low complexity at present. Because such cultures exist we must find some way of rating them as well as comparing them with different stages of cultural evolution as a whole. The author's contention is that the only way in which a comparative study of all cultures in time and space can be made is by the use of a framework of levels of complexity.

The reviewer does not have the space to discuss Dr. Coon's approach to the comparative study of cultures in full. There is much in this appendix which at first would seem subject to adverse criticism, but upon close examination it will be seen that most of it has been anticipated. It should be stated that the method of comparison proposed here at least allows us to see one of the ways toward an understanding of cultural evolution, the rating of present-day cultures, and the measuring of culture growth. The general conceptual frame of approach to such problems is beginning to emerge. However, the methods whereby the energy spent in human activity can be precisely measured and compared are not yet at hand. These methods are being developed and it is in this context that the *Reader in General Anthropology* has its value in introducing the student to anthropology.

Tulane University

Arden R. King

Lowell Juilliard Carr: *Situational Analysis: An Observational Approach to Introductory Sociology*. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948, Pp., xi, 178. \$2.50.)

This book is an attempt to "break a tradition" in the teaching and learning of sociology. The emphasis is placed upon a sort of a "laboratory"

approach to the study of sociology, rather than a "reading about" approach to the subject. Professor Carr says that the problem is "first to make the student conscious of situations as situations — to give him tools of analysis for breaking up his immediate experience—and then to lead him to the actual observation of the perceptual data from which broader abstractions have been derived, to the actual observation, . . . of situations as patterned and conditioned by culture, institutions, interaction, social change, and the like."

Actually, the book is a short text in sociology emphasizing the situational approach of Kurt Lewin, with practical problems for student observation, library work, and field studies appended to the end of each chapter.

This book was used as the sole text in one course in the principles of sociology during the spring quarter of 1948. A collection of anonymous written statements made by the students in the class showed that student reaction was varied. Numerous students felt that this book will be the coming thing in textbooks, and that practical experience associated with reading is much more interesting than reading pages and pages of "dry, written material." Students believe the book to be well organized and a time-saver, and they like the manner in which the author makes important points stand out by means of italics and paragraph headings. Students also approve of the carefully selected references for reading.

There was some pointed criticism directed at the book. The students felt that it was somewhat bewildering for a beginning student, that terms used were too technical, and that concepts were not explained with a sufficient number of concrete illustrations. Probably the briefness of the discussions required the author to condense ideas too closely for the average student. Sentences are full of rather technical situational terms which throw an "academic chill" over the young beginner. What is needed is fewer five-syllable words.

Students also found difficulty relating the assigned problem to the text—not to mention understanding the meaning of the problem itself.

The writer believes that the book is a good idea, but that much improvement is needed before it will be fully acceptable to students. Special attention will need to be paid to the improvement of the assignments. Also, the book should be used only in conjunction with a first-rate, standard text, and a carefully planned series of interpretative lectures.

Colorado State College of Education

Leslie D. Zeleny

Luther Gulick: *Administrative Reflections from World War II*. University, Alabama, University of Alabama Press, 1948, Pp., xii, 139. \$2.50.)

Despite its brevity and slimness this is an important book. What it lacks in sheer length and verbiage, it more than makes up in breadth of perspective and depth of insight. Originally presented as a series of lectures

at the University of Alabama, this work distinctly deserves the larger audience which publication has given it.

The author, Luther Gulick, is a distinguished student of public administration, possessed of a background of training and practical experience which was notably enriched by a series of varied administrative assignments during World War II in the service of the national government. This book takes on then the character of observations and analyses made at first hand by a skilled practitioner in the field.

Appropriately the book is entitled *Administrative Reflections from World War II*. Although the lecture presentation called for five separate discussions, it has been decided that the book shall be given four main parts. The first is a review of the principal events of the so-called period of World War II; the second part deals with war resources and their co-ordinated utilization; the third considers the achievements and failures in the management of war; and lastly, lessons of the second world war are posited for students of public administration.

The first part of the work is a chronological treatment of the chief administration of the national government. This is adequately done, and was obviously intended to supply background against which the succeeding lectures were to be cast. The remaining portions are less severely factual, and far more interpretive in character.

Gulick finds that the essential resources of a nation that are necessary for successful prosecution of war are seven in number — the armed services, other nations, manpower, raw materials, capital investments, science and technological research, and institutional organization. These resources are strictly limited in any war situation under each of these categories, but these same resources are extensively intermutable. He finds that four things are necessary for the interchange of resources in time of war. These are, according to Gulick, (a) comparative surpluses in certain categories, (b) technological and administrative know-how, (c) manpower, and (d) time.

In the third part of the work under review, Luther Gulick appraises the failures and achievements of our administrative operations under the rigor of war-time demands, and in the latter portion of the book goes on to extract from his observations and experiences the lessons which he feels should be learned by public administration from its operational activity in World War II. These points are set forth clearly and cogently with a paucity of secreting verbiage or occlusive figures of speech. The candor and frankness of approach constitutes one of the great merits of the treatment presented by the author.

It would not be possible to point out in detail the arguments and summations of the author. An adequate job would call for a repetition of the book, and this reviewer will desist therefrom. Agreement cannot be expected to be had upon many of the conclusions proffered by the author for they are basic in their sweep and fundamental in implications. To cite



but one of them for mention here: Consider the impact of his observation that staff officers in military operations exercise a larger degree of the command function of line character than has been realized hitherto. Posit that against the nicely worded and neatly put distinctions between staff and line functions of public administration and the ferment that is induced by a careful perusal of Gulick *Administrative Reflections* is inductive, we hope, of a new age of theoretical growth in the field of administration. Here is a book to read; author and publisher are to be congratulated that it saw the light of day.

Wayne University

Charles W. Shull

Yolanda B. Wilkerson: *Interracial Programs of Student YWCA's*, (New York: The Woman's Press, 1948, Pp., 159. \$2.00.)

Although America's colleges and Universities are officially dedicated to democratic education, most of them abound in racial discrimination. One of the few agencies that seriously try to democratize our educational institutions, the National Convention of the YWCA's of the USA, has given the following guidance to its affiliates:

"Associations should continue to work for the building of a society nearer to the Kingdom of God by attempting to create within the Association a fellowship in which barriers of race, nationality, education, and social status are broken down in the pursuit of the common objective of a better life for all."

In her study, Mrs. Wilkerson tries to evaluate to what extent this program of 1936, which was reiterated by another National Convention in 1946, has borne fruit. The author who is the Secretary for Interracial Education of the National Student YWCA restricts her study to matters pertaining to Negroes, Japanese-Americans, and Jews. It is unfortunate that the term "race" instead of "minority" or the like was chosen to include the Jews. This inexact terminology is not excused by the author's statement that she is aware of its inexactness. Wrong terminology propagates in this case just such misconceptions and prejudices as those which her work at the YWCA is intended to dispel.

The author deserves high praise, however, for her candid presentation of the facts, which show almost complete failure to implement the high ideals of the National Conventions in the actual work of the student groups. Most of the 27 tables show indifference to or ignorance of the meaning of intergroup relations at all levels of the organization. Of the ten members of the national student YWCA Inter-racial Education Committee, apparently a policy making body, who were asked to rate the evaluative criteria by which the work of the student groups was to be judged, only seven responded; of these only four considered obtaining

results, only two tackling of problems leading to definite action in the community as "very important" criteria. Of 604 campus organizations who received questionnaires from their National Secretary, only 163 or 27 percent found it worthwhile to return them. An additional 10 percent simply stated "no problems".

The author believes that these returns form a "fairly representative" sample of all the groups asked. This may well be doubted. It is probably safe to assume that groups who could report some activities and perhaps successes would bother to return questionnaires more frequently than others who had nothing to report. The factual information obtained by the questionnaire does not seem to be too reliable. For example, only in four out of 21 medical schools minority students are said to have difficulties taking work there. Information concerning other professional schools sounds similarly optimistic.

Some groups successfully contributed to changes in community practices or campus policies referring to the exclusion of minority group members from restaurants, theaters, dormitories, practice teaching, etc. In most groups, however, nothing was done at all, or they were satisfied with sending delegates to interracial conferences, discussing race questions in committees once or twice a year, etc. Only a few of the groups reported the formulation of any definite tangible goals with regard to race relations. A small number of alumnae reported that connection with the YWCA had some favorable effect upon their attitude toward minority group members even after graduation.

Mrs. Wilkerson closes her book with a list of recommendations for the inter-racial work of the YWCA on all its levels. These, together with her accounts of successful and unsuccessful efforts of the past, deserve the attention of all those interested in intergroup education inside as well as outside the YWCA.

This study like so many others in this field was financed by the Julius Rosenwald Fund. The termination of its activity is a great loss to the cause of better intergroup relations.

University of Arkansas

Franz Adler

Patterson, McAlister, and Hester: *State and Local Government in Texas*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948, Pp., 590. \$3.50.)

Students of the government of Texas will be interested in the revised edition of *State and Local Government in Texas* by C. P. Patterson, S. B. McAlister, and George Hester. The scheme of organization is similar to the previous editions except that the constitution of the state has been printed at the end of the book. This is a helpful feature as copies of the constitution are not always easily accessible to college students. It is unfortunate that some of the errors which occurred in the first edition

have not been corrected. For example, the chart showing the course of appeals in the courts of Texas still indicates a general right of appeal from county courts to district courts; however the right of appeal from the county courts to the district courts is limited to probate cases only.

In discussing the issue of the poll tax the authors do not indicate any knowledge of the publication of an article in the *American Political Science Review* in 1944 entitled *The Poll Tax: The Case of Texas*, which is definitive.

This text is the only one available in the field. Since the legislature of the State has seen fit to require Texas Government for a teacher's certificate or for graduation from a state supported College or University the authors of such a text have an obligation to give the students who must use it a book which is superior in quality and exactness. This obligation has not been discharged.

University of Redlands

William L. Strauss

Alfred H. Kelly and Winfred A. Harbison: *The American Constitution: Its Origins and Development*. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1948, Pp. 940. \$7.50.)

In *The American Constitution*, Professors Kelly and Winfred of Wayne University have given us a readable and useful summary of the constitutional history of the United States from its English beginnings through World War II. None of the basic issues which have arisen during our governmental development have been neglected, and the treatment of all of them is clear and concise. Because of the scope of the work detail is of necessity lacking but this enhances rather than detracts from its usefulness as an introductory college text. The point of view of both authors is fresh and modern and they show themselves to be acquainted with the results of recent scholarship in the field of constitutional history. While Supreme Court decisions are not slighted the book is far from legalistic in tone and in general achieves a well rounded presentation of all the factors influencing our constitutional evolution. Of use not only to the student, but to every citizen who wishes to be informed about the development of our government, this book deserves wide circulation and use. It is without doubt the most readable text in the field.

The University of Texas

H. Malcolm Macdonald

Hillman M. Bishop and Samuel Hendel (Editors): *Basic Issues of American Democracy*. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948, Pp., 337. \$2.50.)

Professors Hillman M. Bishop and Samuel Hendel have edited *Basic Issues of American Democracy* which is designed to aid students in their

first course in political science in "the study of fundamental and persistent issues of our democracy." In making their selections the editors state that they have endeavored "to present the best and most persuasively reasoned statements obtainable on important sides of each controversy." Their purpose in doing this is to aid the students in a reconsideration of the foundations of their beliefs and to "heighten their understanding of the meaning and value of democracy." The editors also believe that the selections will help create standards of critical thinking as well as enliven class discussion.

The selections are well made and should accomplish the purposes indicated in the preface. However, it may seem to some, as it does to this reviewer, that the selections on *Democracy: Attack and Defense* would be more meaningful to students if they were read near the end of the course rather than at the beginning. This reviewer is also troubled by the omission of any selection dealing with atomic energy which has become a fundamental issue in our democracy and may well be persistent.

University of Redlands

William L. Strauss



## Other Books Received

- Anderson, L. F.: *The State Property Tax in Texas*. (Austin, Bureau of Municipal Research, The University of Texas, Municipal Studies No. 33, 1948 pp. 132. \$1.00.)
- A Guide to the Art of Latin America*. (Washington, D. C., Library of Congress, Latin American Studies No. 21, 1948, pp. 480. \$1.50.)
- Barnes, H. E.: *Historical Sociology*. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1948, pp. 186. \$3.00.)
- Blodgett, W. T.: *Vacation—Sick Leave—Working Hours in 118 Texas Cities*. (Austin, Bureau of Municipal Research, The University of Texas, Information Bulletin No. 1, 1948, pp. 23.)
- Bollens, John C.: *The Problem of Government in the San Francisco Bay Region*. (Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, 1948, pp. 162. \$3.00.)
- Bentham, Jeremy: *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*. (New York, Hayner Publishing Co., 1948, pp. 378. \$1.50.)
- Chase, Stuart: *The Proper Study of Mankind*. (New York, Hayner Publishing Co., 1948, pp. 311. \$3.00.)
- Cavan, R. S.: *Criminology*. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1948, pp. 747.)
- Clark, T. D.: *The Rural Press and the New South*. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1948, pp. 111. \$2.00.)
- Gross, Feliks: *European Ideologies*. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1948, pp. 1075. \$12.00.)
- Gist, Noel P. and Halbert, L. A.: *Urban Society*. Third Edition. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1948, pp. 570. \$3.75.)
- Godshall, W. L. (Ed.): *Principles and Functions of Government in U. S.* (New York, D. Van Nostrand Co., 1948, pp. 1121.)
- Goals for Higher Education in the Pacific Coast States*. (Washington, D. C., American Council on Educational Studies, 1948, pp. 14.)
- Heberle, Rudolf: *The Labor Force in Louisiana*. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1948, pp. 189. \$2.00.)

- Horton, B. J. and Associates: *Dictionary of Modern Economics*. (Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1948, pp. 365. \$5.00.)
- Joseph, Bernard: *British Rule in Palestine*. (Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1948, pp. 279. \$3.75.)
- Kelsen, Hans: *The Political Theory of Bolshevism*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1948, pp. 60. \$1.00.)
- Lazarsfeld, Berelso and Gaudet: *The People's Choice*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1948, pp. 178. \$2.75.)
- Loescher, Frank: *The Protestant Church and the Negro*. (New York, Association Press, 1948, pp. 159. \$3.00.)
- Langsam, Walter C.: *The World Since 1914*. Sixth Edition. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1948, pp. 969. \$5.50.)
- Magoun, F. A.: *Love and Marriage*. (New York, Harper and Bros., 1948, pp. 369. \$3.00.)
- McGee, J. F.: *A History of the British Secular Movement*. (Girard, Kansas, Holdeman - Julius Publishers, 1948, pp. 123.)
- MacCorkle, S. A. and Webb, W. D.: *Forms of Local Government*. Revised Edition. (Austin, Bureau of Municipal Research, The University of Texas, Municipal Studies No. 34, 1948, pp. 66. \$1.00.)
- North Texas Regional Union List of Serials*. (Denton, North Texas State Teachers College, 1948, pp. 772.)
- Pearcy, G. E.; Fifield, R. H. and Associates: *Political Geography*. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1948, pp. 653.)
- Peel, Roy V.: *State Government Today*. (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1948, pp. 176. \$3.00.)
- Peyton, Green: *America's Heartland: The Southwest*. (Norman, Oklahoma University Press, 1948, pp. 286. \$3.75.)
- Riordon, Wm. L.: *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1948, pp. 132. \$2.50.)
- State of New York: *Report of the Temporary Commission on the Need for a State University*. (Albany, 1948, pp. 56.)

Sakran, F. G.: *Palestine Dilemma*. (Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1948, pp. 230. \$3.75.)

United Nations: *Annual Report of the Secretary General*. (Lake Success, New York, 1948, pp. 135. \$1.50.)

United Nations: *Year Book on Human Rights*. (Lake Success, 1948, pp. 450. \$5.00.)

*The Writings of St. Augustine*. Vol. 2. (*Immortality of the Soul*, Translated by L. Schopp; *Magnitude of the Soul*, Translated by J. J. McMahon; *On Music*, Translated by R. C. Taliaferro; *Advantages of Believing*, Translated by L. Meagher; *On Faith in Things Unseen*, Translated by R. J. Deferrari and M. F. McDonald.) (New York, Cima Publishing Co., 1948, pp. 499. \$5.00.)

O'Sullivan, J. F., (Translator): *The Writings of Salvian the Presbyter*. (New York, Cima Publishing Co., 1948, pp. 396, \$5.00.)

Willems, Emilio: *Cunha Tradicao E. Transicao Emuma Cultura Rural Do Brazil*. (Sao Paulo, Brazil, Secretaria da Agricultura, 1947, pp. 240.)

Willems, E.: *Anthropologia No. 3. Aspectos da Aculturacao dos Japoneses No Estado de Sao Paulo*. (Brazil, University of Sao Paulo, 1948, pp. 115.)

Walsh, W. R. (Ed.): *Readings in Russian History*. (Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1948, pp. 549. \$5.00.)

Watkins, Frederick: *The Political Tradition of the West*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948, pp. 368. \$5.00.)

## News Notes

The Department of Economics and Business at Texas State College for Women and the School of Business Administration at North Texas State Teachers College announce a Business Education Conference to be held on the campuses of the two schools June 10-11, 1949. Specialists in the several fields of business education will be in charge of the sectional meetings. Interested persons are invited to communicate with either of the sponsoring institutions. Dormitory space at Texas State College for Women will be available at a nominal fee.

The Louisiana State University is developing a program in Latin American geography, combining an offering in regional courses and cartography. Assistant Professor Robert West has been brought to the geography staff following several years residence in Latin America, to aid in the development of this program.

Professor Richard J. Russell, Head of the Department of Geography at Louisiana State University, has been on sabbatical leave for the past year, working in Belgium as a Belgian-American Educational Foundation Fellow. Professor Russell is President of the Association of American Geographers, and will deliver his Presidential Address before the Association's annual convention this year at Madison, Wisconsin, on the subject, "Geographical Geomorphology".

The Bureau of Business Research, of the University of Kansas, is conducting two research investigations: a study of branch plant location in Kansas, under the sponsorship of the Kansas Industrial Development Commission, and a survey of technological changes in the printing industry, under the sponsorship of the Research Foundation.

A graduate program in Regional and City Planning, leading to the master's degree, has recently been announced by the University of Oklahoma. Professor Leonard Logan, Director of the University's Institute of Community Planning and Professor of Sociology, has been named Coordinator of Regional and City Planning, and the program is under the advisory supervision of a committee representing the fields of business research, public health, architecture, civil engineering, geography, sociology, psychology, and government. The program is designed to equip students with the technical and scientific knowledge essential for positions in city, state, and national planning organizations and in administrative roles in chambers of commerce and other civic and regional organizations whose purpose it is to promote community development.

Four new staff members have been added in the Social Science Department at Louisiana Polytechnic Institute. They are: John B. Clark, Jr.,



Assistant Professor of History; C. C. Carney, Assistant Professor of Geography; Allen Z. Gammage, Assistant Professor of Political Science; and John Winters, Instructor in History.

The promotion of the following staff members in the College of Business Administration, University of Kansas, has been announced: Associate Professor Leland Pritchard to Professor of Finance, Instructors Wiley, Mitchell and Keith Weltmer to Assistant Professor of Accounting; Instructor Loda Newcomb to Assistant Professor of Secretarial Training.

The Department of Economics of the A. and M. College of Texas announces the appointment of Dr. Walter H. Delaplane as Head of the Department. Professor Delaplane served nine years with the Economics staff of Duke University, where he had the additional position of Assistant to the Dean of the Graduate School; he worked two years with the Foreign Economic Administration in Washington and a year and a half in Paraguay. For the past two years he has been Head of the Department of Economics at St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y. The Department has also added to its staff Marvin H. Butler, formerly of the University of Illinois, as Assistant Professor of Economics.

Mr. Roscoe Adkins, of the Department of History and Political Science of the University of Arkansas, has returned to Austin to complete his Ph. D. at the University of Texas; he is replaced by Mr. C. W. Ingler of the University of Oklahoma.

Dr. Charles F. Spencer, Professor of Government at East Central State Teachers College, Ada, Oklahoma, has been appointed acting President of the College during a year's sick leave granted to President A. Linscheid. Dr. Woodrow W. Wasson, Professor of History at the College, has resigned to accept a position in the University of Houston.

The New Mexico State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts announces the addition to its History and Social Science staff of Dr. Laiten L. Camien, Assistant Professor of Sociology, and Dr. V. Mitchell Smith, Jr., Assistant Professor of History.

Associate Professor Andrew C. Albrecht, of the Department of Geography of the Louisiana State University, attended the meeting of the International Anthropological Congress in Brussels, Belgium, last August.

Mr. George Frederick Jenks has been appointed Assistant Professor in the Department of Rural Economics and Sociology, University of Arkansas, to conduct research which will include a study of methods and costs of clearing land in the cotton and rice areas of the state. Mr. Jenks

has completed residence requirements for his doctorate at Syracuse University. He is associated in this research project with Mr. Robert W. Harrison, of the U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

#### *Institutional Members*

The following institutions have made financial contributions to the Association and constitute the present list of institutional members:

Bethany College; Central State College (Oklahoma); College of Mines (Texas); East Central State Teachers College (Oklahoma); Hardin-Simmons University; Howard Payne Junior College; H. Sophie Newcomb Memorial College (Tulane); McMurray College; New Mexico State A. and M. College; University of Oklahoma; Oklahoma A. and M. College; Oklahoma Baptist University; Oklahoma City University; Oklahoma College for Women; Southern Baptist College (Arkansas); Southern Methodist University; The University of Texas; Texas Christian University; Texas State College for Women; Texas Technological College; Texas Wesleyan College; Trinity University (Texas); Municipal University of Wichita.